

BILINGUAL CHILDREN ENTERING PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION:

An Analysis of Social and Linguistic Processes

Linda Ann Thompson

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the findings of an ethnolinguistic study carried out in the north-east of England into the language and social behaviour of a group of eight children, four boys and four girls, during their first term in school. The informants, aged between three years and four months (3.4) and three years and seven months (3.7), are third generation British born into families of Pakistani origin. They are Moslems from the Mirpur region. They speak Mirpuri, vernacular Urdu-Panjabi, and English.

The study draws from a number of theoretical perspectives: The Hallidayan tradition of language as socio-semiotic (Halliday, 1975 & 1978) which describes discourse as semantic choice in social contexts; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller's (1985) description of the ways in which individuals reveal their perceived ethnic identity through their language choice; Social Network Analysis which identifies the range of personal ties that individuals contract during the course of their everyday lives and ethnomethodology or Conversational Analysis, a field of research oriented towards the organisation of talk, or interactions as a social activity. The thesis combines these perspectives in an analytical description of the social and linguistic behaviour of the children.

Data were collected from two complementary sources. Naturally occurring discourse data were gathered using audio-taped recordings of the children's naturally occurring language. These were combined with *thick* (Geertz, 1975) contextual data to provide a descriptive account of the ways in which the young informants were learning to be *communicatively competent* (Hymes, 1972) in their new social context.

Data analysis addresses a number of complementary levels of description, beginning with a *time-on-task* analysis which provides the quantitative framework, through to the more qualitative *social network* and *conversational analysis* of the preferred language used for interactions in the nursery.

Findings suggest that these bilingual informants spend more sustained periods of time-on-task than the monolingual pupils in other studies (cf Sylva et al, 1980 & Bennett, 1976). The social network analyses note the recurring presence of specific individuals present during these sustained periods of time-on-task, suggesting there is a social dimension to classroom activities. This is supported by the identification of two types of social network: a loose pupil network and a dense friendship network. The language used to create and maintain these networks is significant. Conversational Analysis identifies patterns of preferred language use within the networks. Generic patterns of the adjacency pairs for bilingual discourse in English and Mirpuri-Panjabi are proposed.

The study ends by outlining the children's developing linguistic repertoire in terms of a linguistic biography or eco-system, subject to influence by social contextual factors. It is suggested that this ethnolinguistic description of the developing social and linguistic competences is an important starting point for understanding aspects of language development and should form the basis for informed educational provision, particularly language planning policy.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The fortunes and misfortunes of nationalism, of what can be called separatism and nativism, do not always make up a flattering story.

Edward Said

Culture and Imperialism 1993:xxvii



CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to describe the social and linguistic behaviour of a group of bilingual children during the first term of their formal education in an urban nursery school. The study is based on eight children, four girls and four boys. They are third generation, British born to families of Pakistani origin who are now permanently settled in Britain. Thirty-nine children attend the nursery. The observed group of eight constitute an homogeneous ethnic minority group within an ethnically diverse school population.

The introduction of the Education Reform Act in 1988 established English as the official language of mainstream education in Britain. However, a significant number of pupils in schools live in families and communities where languages other than English are spoken in the course of their daily lives. These children have the potential to be bilingual. Despite the social, educational, cognitive and personal advantages of bilingualism (eg Cook, 1990) the potential of these pupils remains unrealised and the linguistic competence of these children remains relatively under investigated and uncharted.

The study is important because of the increasing numbers of bilingual children in British classrooms. As a monolingual teacher who has spent some fifteen years teaching in multilingual classrooms, it has become increasingly apparent to me that there is a paucity of research into the experiences of very young bilingual children growing up in the UK. Academic studies in Applied Linguistics helped me to realise that there was a gap between linguistic research and educators, especially the teachers of young bilingual children. This study is an attempt to bridge that gap by bringing research methods from sociolinguistics (specifically from systemic linguistics and social anthropology) into a nursery school classroom in an attempt to illuminate an understanding of the behaviour that takes place there.

The thesis is divided notionally into two parts. Part I comprises Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The thesis begins with an overview of Bilinguals in Britain. The social, religious, ethnic and linguistic composition of present day British society is described, with a particular emphasis on the Mirpuri community from Northern Pakistan now permanently settled in the north-east of England. It will be suggested that there are difficulties in describing immigrant communities in terms of their countries of origin (in this case Pakistan) because of the political changes that have resulted in the formation of new nation states and geographical boundaries. Further, it will be argued that the traditional description that links individuals with the language of the state of their birth and the official language of that country poses difficulties when describing the language (and indeed, the culture and religion) of people of Pakistani origin.

Chapter 3 describes the Development of Education for Bilingual Children in Britain and concludes that there is no official program of Bilingual Education currently in place. The present situation is one where there is an unofficial system of immersion into English, the official language of British schools and society. This means that the transition from home to school is an important one for young bilingual children who are moving from one language community (the language of the home) to a community where English is the official language of the state and education system.

Chapter 4 presents the theoretical frameworks that have inspired this study. These include descriptions of language as a social semiotic and Le Page & Tabouret-Keller's (1985) description of bilingualism as an act of identity.

Chapter 5 presents a case study of the Box Hill Nursery Project. The ethnolinguistic study which describes the processes of enculturation into a mainstream nursery, for one group of bilingual children. The chapter outlines the conceptual and practical framework in which the study was planned and carried out.

The second part of the thesis (Chapters 6-10) describes the various levels of analyses of the data collected.

Data analysis begins with Chapter 6, a description of the children's use of time in the nursery setting. A time-on-task analysis was taken as a starting point because it is an established method of describing early years' classrooms and the behaviour of the children in those classrooms (eg Sylva et al, 1980 and Bennett, 1976). Results suggest that this group of children spend considerably longer periods of time on some activities than the monolingual children observed in previous studies.

Data analysis continues with Chapter 7, a description of the children's use of space in the nursery setting. Founded in the description of language as a social semiotic (outlined in Chapter 4) the discourse data is presented, not in the conventional form of annotated transcriptions, but in the form of maps of the individual children's movements around the nursery.

Chapter 8, a social network analysis, uses methodology from social anthropology in an attempt to illuminate the time-on-task data. Using social network analysis, it is possible to show the ways in which the children make contact with each other, and with other children, in the nursery during their first day in school. Findings suggest that there is a social dimension to time-on-task activities which influences the time that individuals spend on selected learning activities. Data analysis describes the emergence of two types of social network, a *pupil network* and a *friendship network*, that become established within the nursery as the term progresses.

Chapters 9 and 10 provide analyses of the language that the children use in their social networks. Descriptions of when they speak, who they speak to and which language they choose (Mirpuri-Panjabi or English) for their interactions, reveal that the children have a pattern of preferred language use. Analysis demonstrates the

children's use and knowledge of English from the first day in the nursery. Further, Conversational Analysis demonstrates that bilingual children combine the languages in their repertoire to form discourse strategies unique to bilinguals. A generic description of bilingual discourse strategies is presented.

Chapter 11 presents a theoretical framework for interpreting the social networks formed and the role played by language as a social semiotic. The concept of *linguistic biography* will be outlined. It will be suggested that each child is engaged in the process of creating a personal linguistic biography. These individual biographies are influenced by a number of factors including the environments and social contexts in which the child learns language, and the people with whom they interact. A theoretical framework contextualising individual's language use within a hierarchical structure will be presented.

Chapter 12 is a summary of the main finding from each of the five levels of data analysis, together with the implications they hold for the training of primary school teachers. Suggestions for further fields of study are also outlined.

CHAPTER 2

BILINGUALS IN BRITAIN

He imagined himself back in his native village ... for this was the ideal that every man looked forward to during all his working life: the return to the native village, the ultimate peace. Yet even this was denied him: his native village in the Panjab had been incorporated into Pakistan and the ancestral strip of land was lost to him and his. The only home he had now was in the city, if a home in the city could be called a home.

Ruth Praver Jhabvala
The Nature of Passion 1986:177

CHAPTER 2 - BILINGUALS IN BRITAIN

2.0 Introduction

This study reports on the Box Hill Nursery Project, an ethnolinguistic study of the social and linguistic behaviour of a group of eight children, aged between three and four years, of ethnic Pakistani origin, during their first term in an urban nursery school. The children are all third generation British born to British born parents. In an attempt to understand their cultural and linguistic repertoires, it is first necessary to examine closely the history of their heritage, the languages which they speak, and the background to the settlement of their families in Britain.

This chapter sets out the international, national and regional context for the study. It outlines the political and economical background to the migration of particular groups to the UK throughout the 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's which account for the heterogeneous linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural composition of present day British society and the subsequent education provision for the children of the groups who eventually settled more permanently in Britain.

2.1 Britain's Linguistic and Cultural Heritage

The social, ethnic and linguistic composition of present day British society is the legacy of former British social, economic and political policy. The focus of this study is England. The situation in other parts of the UK differs in a number of ways. In particular the policy and language of education in Wales stand in sharp contrast. This however will not form part of this discussion.

The 1987 Language Census found that 172 different languages were spoken by children in Inner London Education Authority schools. Which languages are they and who speaks them? An overview of the main language groups from which the 172 are

derived has been summarised by Alladina & Edwards (1991:13) into geolinguistic areas. These are presented in Figure 2.1.

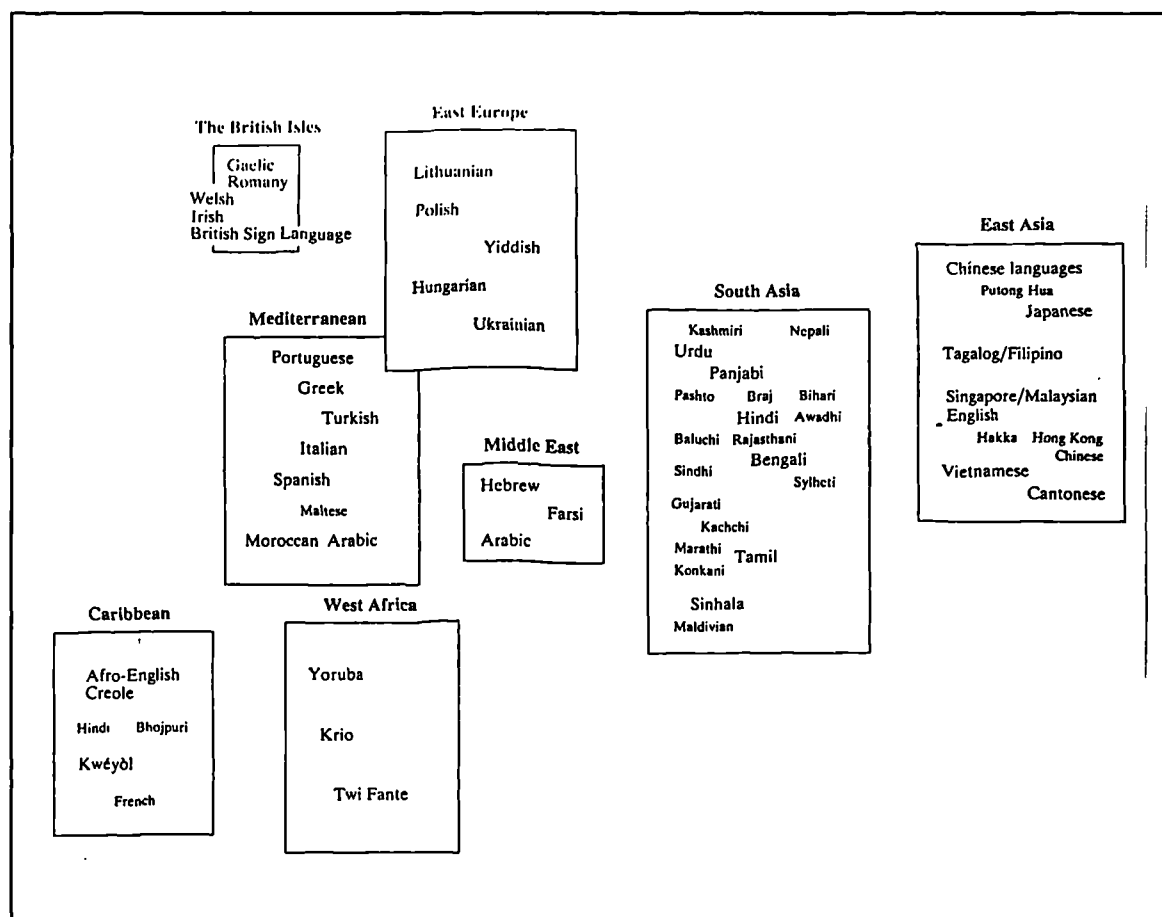


Figure 2.1 Geolinguistic areas identified by Alladina & Edwards (1991:13)

While this comprehensive overview is useful, it also presents difficulties. For example, there are problems in defining minority groups in terms of the language(s) they speak or the region from which they originate. Indeed it is not even possible to provide a satisfactory definition of a linguistic minority in purely linguistic terms. This derives from the difficulty of settling two crucial issues on the basis of linguistic data alone: the definition and agreement on geographical boundaries and the ethnic composition of the peoples who live within them. The boundaries of particular languages cannot in reality be easily established. The study of variation within language, of linguistic change, and of bilingual repertoires has led sociolinguists to

the conclusion that it is not possible in the real world to regard languages as fixed structures or systems. This is particularly true of the region frequently referred to in the literature as the subcontinent of Asia, or by Alladina & Edwards (1991:13) as South Asia. To understand the linguistic composition of this region it is necessary to examine geographical boundaries and ethnic composition more closely.

2.2 The Geography and History of the Panjab Region

The complexity of the linguistic situation is understood better from the historical perspective. Before partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the whole of the Panjab was part of a single state. The majority of the population spoke one of the local dialects of Panjabi as their first language. Partition in 1947, realised the vision of the two nation theory outlined by a number of intellectuals including Rahmet Ali who died in 1951. Partition institutionalised religious divisions with the creation of two new nation states, India and Pakistan. The former state of the Panjab became divided between these two new nation states. The name of the new nation Pakistan is believed to have been coined by Rahmet Ali. The word takes the letters from the different areas that he hoped would make the state: P for Panjab, A for Afranistan, K for Kashmir, S for Sind, and tan from Baluchistan. There are two explanations for the I. One is that it makes the word pronounceable. However, *Sthan* in Sanskrit means place, while *Pak* in Persian and Urdu means pure. So the name Pakistan means 'land of the pure'. The word and its underlying concept were outlined in a pamphlet, *Now or Never*, written by Rahmet Ali and published on 28 January 1933 (Source: Rahmet Ali's biographer Khursheed Kamal Aziz). The sources of this derivation give insight into the linguistic complexity of the situation.

Urdu, a language based on the speech of educated Moslems of northern India was declared the official and national language of Pakistan. The written form, based on the Perso-Arabic script, reinforced the link with Islam, the state religion. Urdu itself

was not the native language of any indigenous group that fell within the post 1947 borders of Pakistan. Native speakers of Urdu were mainly migrants and refugees (Khan, 1991). Post 1947 all education and official business in Pakistan was conducted in and through the Urdu language. Urdu also became established as the language of written literature. English is the language of higher education.

Present day Pakistan is divided into four regions, each of which has its own regional language: Panjabi in the Panjab; Sindhi in Sindh; Baluchi in Baluchistan and Pashto in Sarhad. Urdu, however, as the official State language remains the language of power and prestige although it is suggested by Khan (1991) this has not been established without some internal resistance.

From 1947 until 1971 Pakistan was divided into East and West. In 1971 East Pakistan became the new nation state of Bangla Desh. Bangladesh (as it is now known) is an Islamic State. The language situation is similar to other countries in the region. Like Pakistan, Bangladesh has a national official language, Bengali, in addition to regional languages. The official language policy is equally as rich as in present day Pakistan.

These divisions mean that since 1971 the former state of the Panjab has become three separate nations. From west to east these are Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. Taylor & Hegarty (1985:43) provide a map of these post 1971 geographical boundaries. This is presented in Figure 2.2. The map shows the main areas of emigration from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to Britain, the concentration of ethnic groups within these boundaries and the national languages and religions. The main areas of emigration to Britain are shaded. Mirpur is one of those areas.

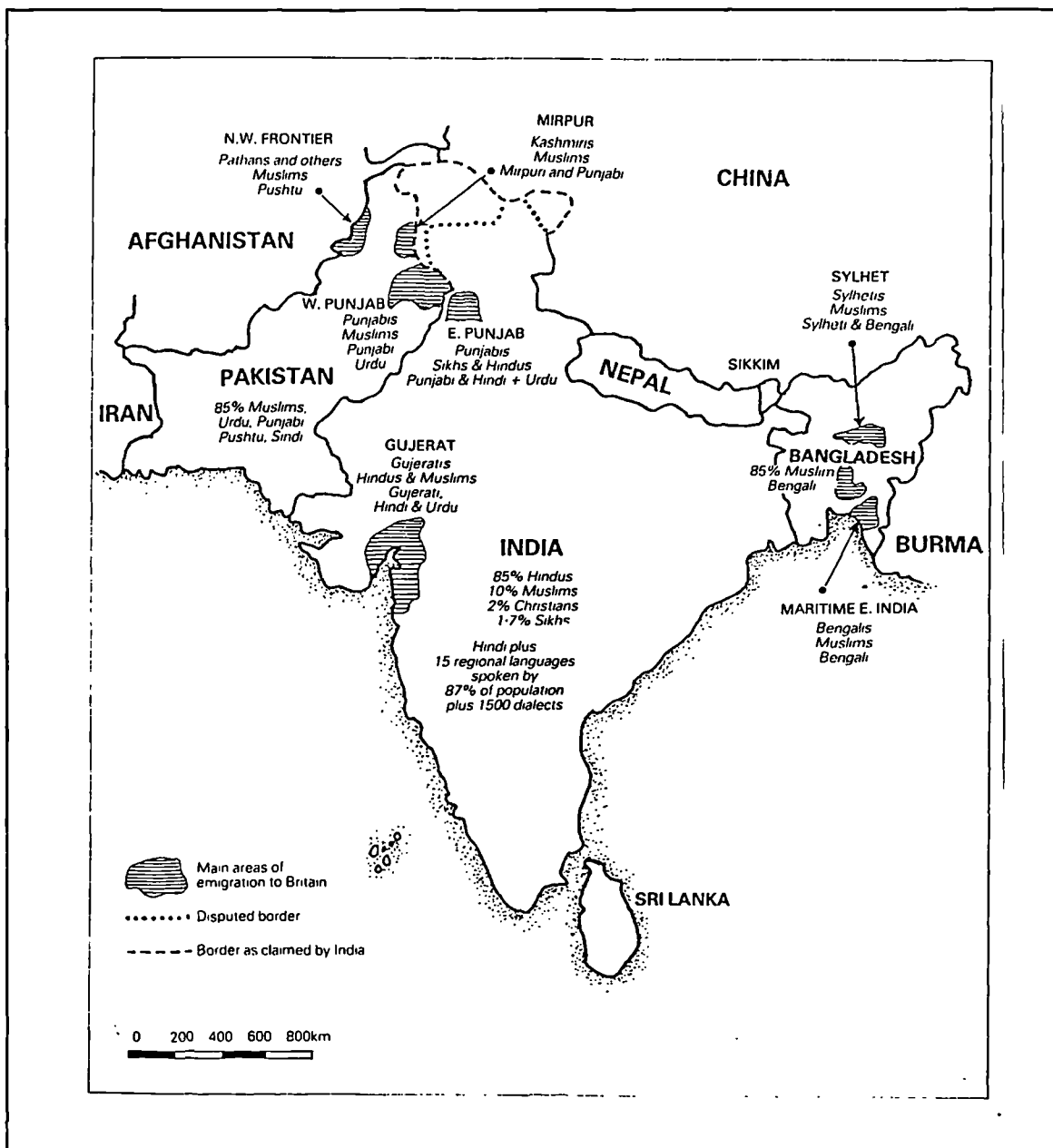


Figure 2.2 Post 1971 geographical boundaries within South Asia and the ethnic, religious and linguistic composition (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985:43)

2.3 The Linguistic Composition of the Panjab

The Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) identified Urdu as one of the twelve languages most commonly spoken in London primary schools. This group includes two sub groups of Urdu speakers. A small number of people (from both India and Pakistan) who speak Urdu as their first language and a much larger number of Urdu speakers who originate from the former West Panjab State, now known as Pakistan.

The latter group learned Urdu after it became the national language of their home country, Pakistan. The language they speak has been identified by Khan (1991) as Urdu-Panjabi to distinguish it from the Sikh, Hindi-Panjabi spoken in India. The Linguistic Minorities Project (1985:23) presents a diagram (Figure 2.3) which summarises the complexity of the linguistic, religious and ethnic composition of the former state of the Panjab.

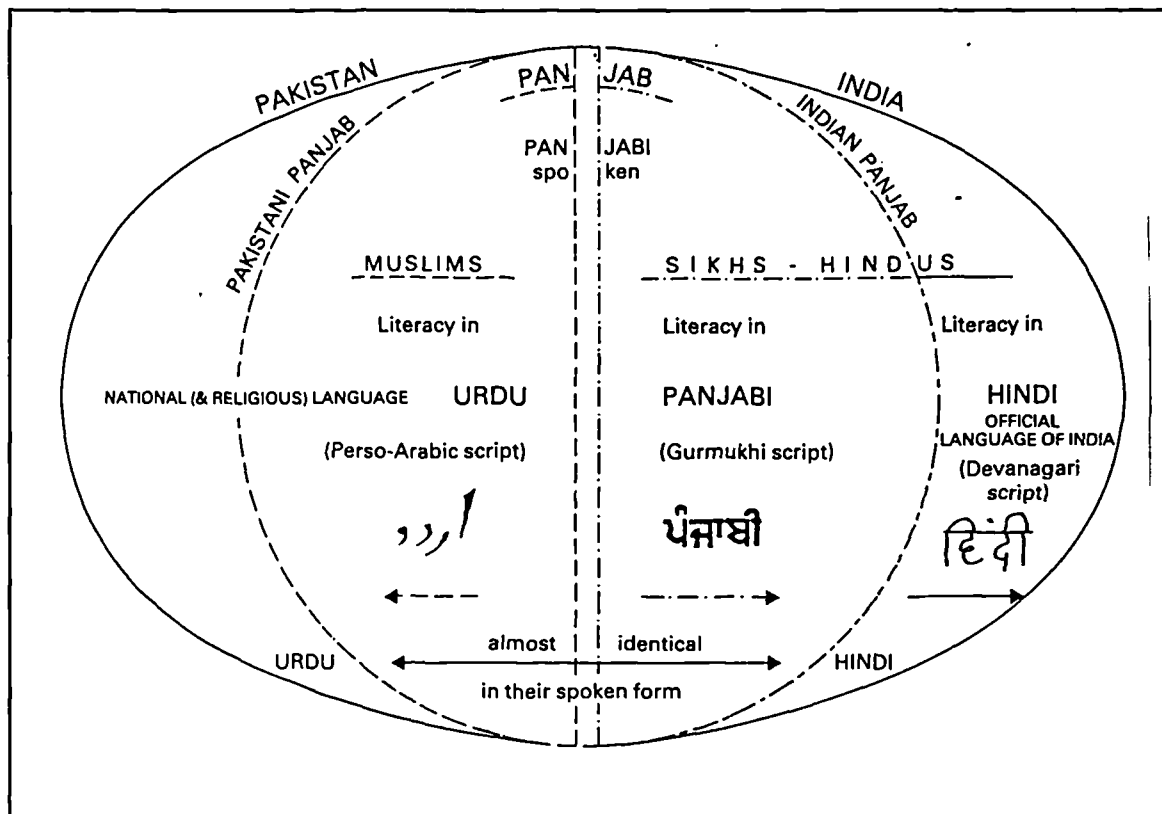
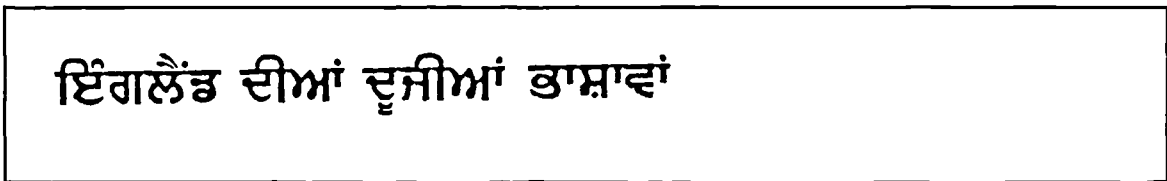


Figure 2.3 The linguistic, religious and ethnic composition of the former State of the Panjab (The Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985:23)

Khan (1991) suggests that the vast majority of Urdu speakers in Britain are Moslems from the Pakistan Panjab who speak Panjabi as the main language of the home. They can be distinguished from Sikh and Hindu speakers of Panjabi by their commitment to Urdu as the symbolic expression of their religious identity. It should be noted however, that not all peoples from this region are Moslems.


2.4 The Historic Development of Urdu

The Urdu language was originally one of the languages spoken in the Hindi region alongside Brah, Bihari and Kari Boli Hindi. During the sixteenth century large parts of India fell under Moslem rule. These Moslem dynasties were of mainly Turkish and Afghan origin, their language and culture predominantly Persian. While Urdu remained an essentially Indian language in structure, like all languages in contact situations with other languages, language change began to occur. Although Persian (or Farsi) was the official language, Urdu spread throughout India via army encampments, bazaars and administrative channels. This diffusion is evident in the etymology of the name Urdu which originated from the Farsi *Zaban-e-Urdu-e-mu'alla*, meaning, language of camp and court. Urdu has a strong literary tradition. The written form takes its script from the Perso-Arabic and it draws some of its lexicon from the same source. Although Urdu-Punjabi and Hindi-Punjabi may be mutually intelligible by some in the spoken forms, the written varieties, derived from different alphabets, are not. The following samples (Figures 2.4 & 2.5) illustrate this.



ਇੰਗਲੈਂਡ ਦੀਆਂ ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ

Figure 2.4 A sample of Panjabi script



برطانیہ کی دوسری زبانیں

Figure 2.5 A sample of Urdu script

2.5 Describing and Defining Urdu

The question of definition and description of Urdu is contentious. The 1961 Census of India and Mobbs (1981) suggest that Urdu and Hindi be treated as a single linguistic system in the spoken form. However, Grierson (1927) describes the difference in word order in the two systems. Alladina (1985), Mehdi (1974:207-208) and Pattanayak (1981) all argue for the acknowledgement of Urdu and Hindi as separate describable linguistic systems and link their justification strongly to the language loyalties and sense of ethnic and religious identity associated with speakers' language choice.

In addition to being the official language of Pakistan, Urdu is also one of the fifteen official languages of India, spoken as either a first or second language by an estimated 30 million Moslems (Khan, 1991:129). In Pakistan Urdu is the first language of around 5 million people and is used as a second language by an estimated 40 million more (Katzner, 1977).

The linguistic and geographical heritage of this region may in part account for the inaccuracies that have arisen in ascribing people to heritage languages and lands. Migrants from the subcontinent are frequently referred to collectively as Asians. However, I should like to suggest that this term is now too general to be meaningful. It fails to capture the diverse complexity of the cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic and national heritage, of the peoples from this region.

2.6 Patterns of Migration and Settlement in Britain

The main area of interest for this study is people of ethnic Pakistani origin, so this will be the focus of comment. However, some points remain pertinent to other migrant groups and communities. The family backgrounds of migrants are not easy to contextualise within Britain because of the difficulty in obtaining precise and accurate

information about the number of people of Pakistani origin now settled in Britain. This complexity is due in part to the political changes which have taken place in the region and in part to the subsequent changes in the nomenclature adopted in Britain when defining and classifying origin. These changes have been further compounded by the reformulation of policy and legislation regarding British immigration, which in turn gave rise to further redefinition and reclassification. For example, those born in the Mirpur region of West Panjab before 1947 would be classified as Commonwealth, while those born after 1947 would not be. The term 'New Commonwealth' was introduced to replace the term 'British Commonwealth' which did not include the two new nations Pakistan created in 1947 and Bangladesh in 1971. Difficulties also arise in providing accurate statistical information on patterns of migration and settlement in Britain throughout the 1950's, 1960's, and early 1970's, the vigorous eras of resettlement.

The most recent and comprehensive survey of patterns of immigrant settlement was undertaken by Taylor & Hegarty (1985: Section 5) who outline the demographic settlement of Asian groups in Britain. Their sources include Rose et al (1969); the 1971 and 1981 censuses; and two sample surveys: The National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1977-78, (NDHS), and the Labour Force Survey 1979 and 1981. All of these provide information on ethnic origin but a number of difficulties are encountered in compiling separate data on Pakistani born individuals because they are subsumed under two separate groups, namely, 'New Commonwealth born' (NCW) and 'New Commonwealth and Pakistani born' (NCWP).

An earlier attempt to survey patterns of immigrant settlement was the 1971 census which collected information on individuals' and their parents' birthplaces and which classified individuals born in India, Pakistan and East Africa as one group of 'New Commonwealth born'. However, by 1973 West Pakistan had become Pakistan and left the Commonwealth, whereas East Pakistan, renamed Bangladesh, remained a

member of the Commonwealth (Commission for Racial Equality, 1979). This development gave rise to the newly created category of New Commonwealth and Pakistani born persons. Birthplace figures for the NCWP born population are further confused because they also include expatriates born in Pakistan to parents on some form of overseas service. This group may not necessarily perceive Pakistan as their land of heritage, but only as their place of birth. An important distinction is to be made here. This group was recorded separately in the 1971 census which did not collect information on ethnic origin of individuals but only on their place of birth. This added a further difficulty to the compilation of separate figures for those born in Pakistan not of Pakistani origin, and those ethnic Pakistanis born in their homeland.

In an attempt to draw a more comprehensive picture of immigrant settlement patterns in Britain, Taylor & Hegarty (1985:44) augmented the 1971 census figures with information held on the registration of births, deaths and marriages. Using these data they were able to estimate the number of NCW born of ethnic origin, based on the following definition:

persons born in the New Commonwealth who are not of United Kingdom descent plus children born in Great Britain to parents of NCW ethnic origin, including children with only one such parent.

Taylor & Hegarty (1985:44)

Ethnic Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are included in this category (Office for Population Census and Surveys (OPCS), 1977) but such inferences can only be drawn with increasing difficulty and uncertain reliability (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985:44). OPCS figures for 1977 contain only one set of figures for all of those children born in Pakistan within a given period. This global figure includes three categories of Pakistani born: those born to ethnic Pakistani parents; those born to parents resident in Pakistan but who were not ethnic Pakistanis and a growing number of individuals of mixed descent and parentage. Thus it is difficult to obtain, from these figures

(Commission for Racial Equality, 1979), accurate and precise information on the number of ethnic Pakistanis, born to parents resident in their homeland.

Similarly, figures of the NCW born ethnic groups can only be estimated. These estimates show that between 1961 and 1976 NCW born numbered 3.3% of the total population of Great Britain, while people of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin accounted for an estimated two-thirds of this percentage (Field et al, 1981). The 1981 Labour Force Survey showed 4.1% of Britain's population to be of NCWP origin, with those of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins representing a combined total of 1.9%. There are however acknowledged difficulties in compiling such statistics. The difficulties encountered in compiling figures on the Pakistani born individuals is compounded when attempting to estimate the number of ethnic Pakistanis who subsequently settled in Britain. Since no comprehensive or systematic figures exist of ethnic Pakistani settlement in Britain, all figures presented (here and elsewhere) can only be regarded as mere estimates. Leaving aside the precise number of people involved, it is possible to draw the following profile of the permanently settled communities from South Asia who represented 1.9% of the British workforce up to 1981.

2.7 The First Migrants

The primary motivation for migration from South Asia was economic, the desire to find work. As a result, the majority of those first immigrants were male. A nationally representative survey carried out in 1974 (Smith, 1976) included 2103 Asians, of whom 16% were Pakistani and Bangladeshi, and revealed that 37% of the Pakistanis came from the Mirpur region. Some 89% of the Pakistanis questioned said that their primary motive in coming to Britain was to earn money, while 13% of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi men said that they had come for education. The survey seems to confirm the trend for male migration which began in the late fifties. Almost

a quarter of the ethnic Pakistanis arrived in Britain between 1960 and the middle of 1962, followed by 38% who arrived between 1962 and 1968. 38% of those who came were aged between 15 and 24 years. The 1974 Survey revealed differences in the regional distribution of groups from various districts. Table 2.1 presents A Profile of Newly Settled Migrant Communities in Britain. It is based on Taylor & Hegarty (1985:52) from Thapar (*The Times*, 1982) and shows patterns of migrant settlement within Britain.

There are many reasons for this pattern of settlement. Following the passing of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, the mass migration which started in the late 1950's was regulated by a selective system of employment vouchers designed to meet the needs of the British labour market. There were three categories of voucher:

- A) for those who had specific jobs to come to in Britain
- B) for those who possessed special skills or qualification
- C) for unskilled workers without definite prospects of employment.

Applications for category C vouchers were highly organised by a network of travel agents. Taylor & Hegarty (1985:61) report that between 1962-67 migrants from India and Pakistan were allocated 42,450 of the 72,940 vouchers issued. A figure recorded by Taylor & Hegarty (1985:61) as 'disproportionate benefit' to this region.

The majority of migrants from the subcontinent had previously worked on the land. They came to Britain to take up jobs as unskilled labourers in manufacturing industries. Some Pakistanis, with previous experience in textiles, were able to find similar work in the North of England through the sponsorship scheme, whereby immigrant labour was recruited into a gang of Pakistani employees, responsible to an English speaking foreman, frequently to work unsocial (night) shifts.

Area of origin	Religion	Language	Main areas settled in UK	Main castes
INDIA				
Panjab	1) Hindu	Punjabi	Southall/ Birmingham (Handsworth)	Brahmin, Khatri, Baniya, Chura
	2) Sikh	Punjabi	Southall/ Birmingham (Handsworth)	Jat, Ramgarhia, Tarkhan, Chura.
Gujarat	1) Hindu	Gujerati/ Kutchi	Wembley/ Leicester	Patel, Lohana, Solanki, Shah
	2) Moslem	Gujerati/ Kutchi	Wembley/ Leicester	Bhora, Ismaili, Sunni
PAKISTAN				
North Western Frontier Province (Pathan)	Moslem	Pushto	Bradford (Hanover Square)	According to Pathan tribe system
Mirpur	Moslem	Mirpuri	Bradford	Based on rural patterns of Pakistan's Azad Kashmir
Panjab	Moslem	Punjabi	Manchester/ Birmingham (Sparkbrook)	Rajput, Khan, Gujjar, Nai, etc.
BANGLADESH				
Sylhet	Moslem	Bengali	Camden and Brick Lane in London and Bradford	Similar to castes of the State of Bengal in India.
EAST AFRICA				
Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia	1) Hindu	Panjabi/ Gujerati	Southall/ Leicester	Same as Panjabi Hindu or Gujerati Hindu.
	2) Sikh	Panjabi	Southall/ Birmingham	Same as Panjabi Sikh.
	3) Moslem	Panjabi/ Gujerati	Leicester/ London	Same as Gujarati or Panjabi Muslim.

Table 2.1 A Profile of Migrant Communities from South Asia Newly Settled in the UK (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985:52)

Taylor & Hegarty (1985:52) identify Bradford as the main area of settlement for Mirpuri speaking Moslems from the Mirpur region of Pakistan, of the Azad Kashmir caste. However, the official information on which they base their statement is too insensitive to feature the relatively small number of migrants from the Mirpur district who were recruited directly to Yorkshire and Cleveland factories under the voucher system. Nor do these official figures include those migrants who were self-financing and paid their own passage to Britain. They would not fall within the 'voucher' figures.

The variation in timing and composition of the migration of ethnic Pakistani origin is reflected in the settlement patterns and characteristics of the migrant communities in Britain. Although, as already outlined, no systematic records exist on these national settlement patterns (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985), certain factors including the languages spoken, the region of origin and personal network links, seem to be connected in the establishment of these settlements.

2.8 The Mirpuri Community in Pakistan and Cleveland

Until 1994 Cleveland was an administrative region in the north east of England. In 1989 the County's Research and Intelligence Unit published the results of surveys carried out to establish the composition and demographic concentration of ethnic minority groups in the region. The results are shown in Table 2.2.

Year	Cleveland's total population	Cleveland's ethnic minority population
1981	565,800	12,150
1989	554,467	14,010

Table 2.2 The composition and demographic concentration of ethnic minority groups in Cleveland

This figure of approximately 14,000 from ethnic minority groups, comprises a number from the Moslem community of ethnic Pakistani origin. The 1981 census records a total of 2,071 people born in Pakistan but information available does not identify the number from the Mirpur district separately. The local geographical distribution of the group of Pakistani origin has been reported by the Cleveland Research and Intelligence Unit (1989) and is shown in Figure 2.6.

Mirpuris differ from other settled Asian migrant communities in Cleveland in a number of ways. It is therefore worth outlining their history and traditions, although there is a dearth of published information to draw from. There are no known detailed accounts of the Mirpuri community in Cleveland. However, the Mirpuri community in Bradford has been written about. These accounts can be found in *The Pakistanis: Mirpur villagers at home and in Bradford* (Saifullah Khan, 1977:57-89) and of the Urdu speech community in Britain in Khan (1991:128-140). From these sources the following profile of the Mirpur community in Pakistan has been drawn.

2.8.1 The Mirpuri Community in Pakistan

Their origins lie in the Mirpur District of the part of Kashmir held by Pakistan. It is known as Azad (Free) Kashmir. Its geographical position as a border area has contributed to its history and experience. Mirpuris are subjects of the Old State of Jammu and Kashmir and are citizens of Pakistan. A cease-fire line demarcates Azad Kashmir from the Indian held Kashmir. The Mirpur district lies in the foothills and is bounded by mountains. Saifullah Khan (1979a) describes the Mirpuris as essentially Panjabi in culture, speaking a vernacular, dialect form, of Panjabi. The Mirpur district is situated to the north of the Panjab, where the rain-fed land is divided into smaller holdings than in the more fertile, irrigated land of the Southern Panjab. The land is more hilly than in other parts of the Panjab. There are no through communication routes and in the past there have been harsh regimes which are held

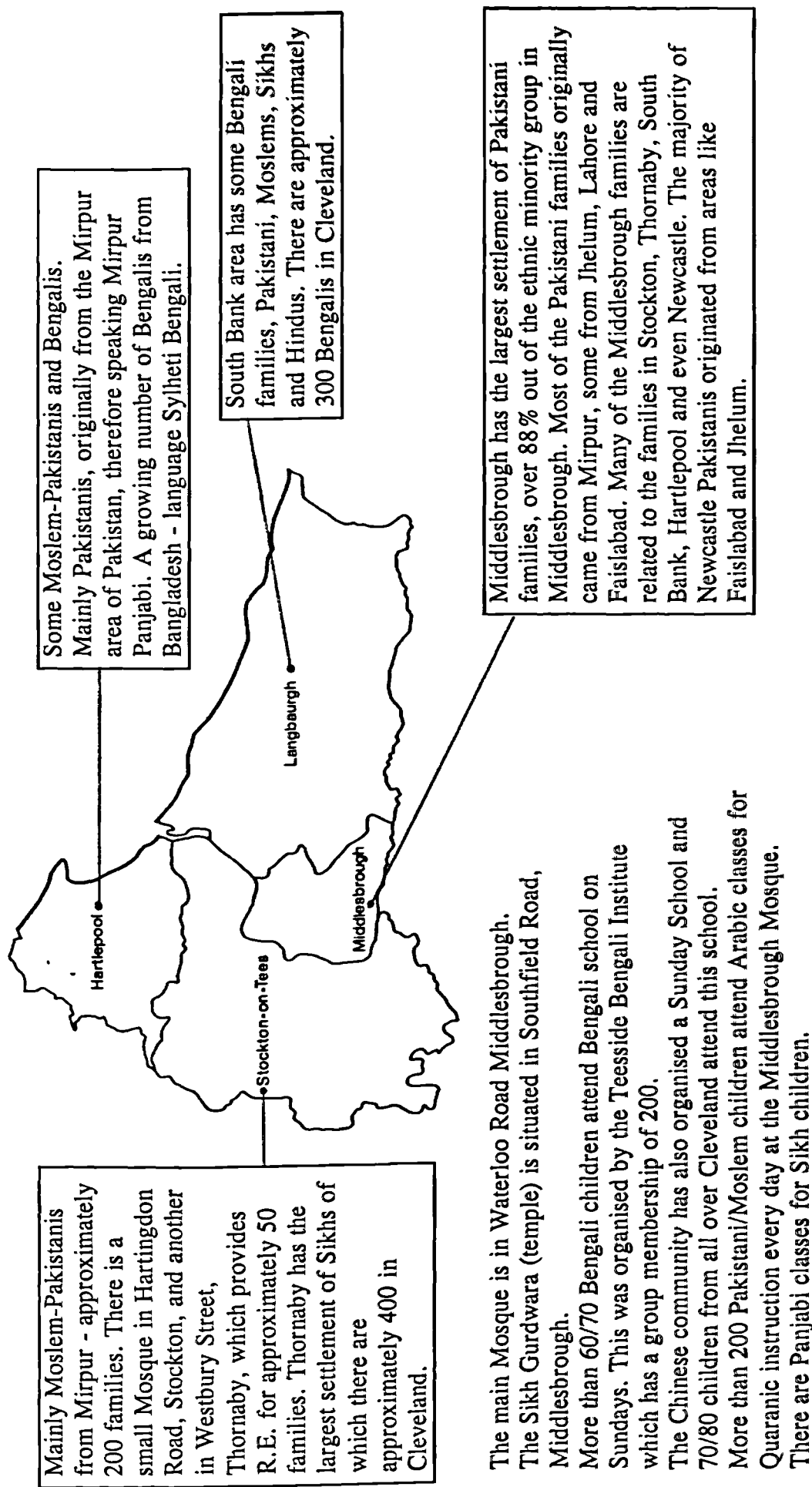


Figure 2.6 Map of the geographical distribution of ethnic minority groups within the Cleveland area (Compiled by Perveen Ahmed. Statistics taken from Cleveland Research and Intelligence Unit, 1989)

responsible for preventing the development of agricultural, social and educational initiatives evident in other parts of the South Asia. As a border state, Mirpur experienced the consequences of Partition as well as an influx of people from Indian-occupied Kashmir. The topography has determined, to some extent, the slow progress of internal communication networks by road, rail and air.

Villages within the region vary in size from a few hundred to several thousand. Some settlements are dominated by large landowners while others are characterised by individuals farming their own land. Those who do not own land include tenant farmers, hereditary craftsmen and village artisans. Mirpur also has its share of new settlers. Those who arrived during or after Partition, are known as *mahajars* (refugees). Within the villages the primary social unit is the household, frequently a three generation unit comprising grandparent(s), married son(s) and their wives and children, along with unmarried sons and daughters, and less often, unmarried, divorced or widowed uncle or aunt. Daughters move to their husband's family on marriage. Property is held in common and resources, whether derived from land-work or wage labour, are pooled. Decisions are made communally, with final authority resting with the head of the household, the eldest male. Each position within the family comprises a complex set of rights, duties, attitudes, expectations and sentiments, which are balanced to create the effective functioning of the unit. Roles are precisely and clearly defined into a pattern of mutual interdependence with individual subordination to the group. Houses consist of two or three rooms leading into a walled courtyard or compound which contains animal shelters and an open-air kitchen. The courtyard is usually connected to a village lane via a high door. Much of the daily life of the household and its individual members is conducted in the public arena of the courtyard. In the summer months people sleep outside in the courtyard or on the flat rooftops.

There is an established tradition of migration from Mirpur. Some Mirpuris have moved to more fertile agricultural land in the south of the region, while others, facilitated by improved transport links, have joined the trend to urban migration within Pakistan. During the Second World War many Mirpuri men joined the British Army and Navy (Tinker, 1974 & 1977). Since then they have remained a major source of recruitment for the Pakistani Army. There is therefore an established tradition of migration for economic purposes. As a result, Mirpur has probably been more exposed to external influences than many other districts in the region. At any rate, the extent of contact with external agencies may not always be fully realised by those from outside the Mirpuri community.

This trend towards external contact has continued. In the 1950's, a joint international venture between Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Germany and the USA, began the construction of the Mangla Dam, the world's largest earth dam. This resulted in the displacement of large numbers of people. Between 1963 and 1967 100,000 people, estimated at 18,000 families, from twenty villages and one small town were relocated. Some moved to farmland in Southern Panjab, some were resettled into newly built villages or absorbed into old villages like Chak Sawari and the new Mirpur City. Displaced persons were compensated with cash which some used to migrate to Britain.

Saifullah Khan (1979b) suggests that the rural communities of the region are neither isolated nor static and she attributes the gradual adaptation over the decades to the strength of traditional institutions rather than to the absence of external influence. She notes however, that recent developments, including the extension of communications, transportation, electricity, the introduction of consumer items and a cash economy, have served to undermine the traditional power structure of the Mirpuri community. Dependent tenant farmers have become independent landowners with access to an income and capital; traditional landowners have sold land and some have sent sons

abroad to ensure continued access to new sources of wealth. The flow of money, the sale of land and more contact between east and west have all increased. Many of the migrants to Britain (and elsewhere) were men joining relatives or close family friends, with whom they already had established contacts. This meant an absence of men in villages which inevitably altered traditional practices. However, the tradition of, what Saifullah Khan (1979b) terms, the joint family system and community life, provides support for those remaining and minimises disruption. The migration to Britain was probably less disruptive for the Pakistani based Mirpuri community because it adheres to a pattern, established over decades. A journey to Britain was one of several options available to villagers threatened with the political instability of Azad Kashmir and only limited economic opportunities at home.

Saifullah Khan (1979a) suggests that the conditions and opportunities in Mirpur influence the degree of economic and emotional identity and involvement with both England the adoptive land, and Pakistan the homeland. The nature of traditional relationships within the villages of Mirpur is a crucial factor in understanding the Mirpuri communities in Cleveland and Pakistan. In village society, the individual is at the centre of a complex network of rights, obligations and duties. An individual's rights and duties are dictated by a number of factors including age, gender, order of birth and other people within the community. Individualism and independence, valued by some cultures, is perceived within the Mirpuri community as secondary. Interpersonal relations are determined by respect for a strict hierarchy, characterised by the authority of elders, the public authority of men and the difference of women. Family and kin take priority over individuals. Close friendships are characterised by the use of the terms 'sister' or 'brother', as appropriate, and gradually acquire the loyalty and interdependency of siblings. Interactions between the sexes are usually subject to close public scrutiny and severe restrictions. The pre-ordained rigid rules of social and personal behaviour can provide a certain stability and security for individuals. Those who deviate from the norm whether by chance or choice (Saifullah

Khan (1979b) cites widows and the disabled as two examples), are subject to severe reprimand or control. Those perceived as vulnerable, for example, the young and unmarried, are controlled and those who do not fulfil expectations lose esteem and influence.

Beyond the household is the kinship group or *biradari*. The *biradari* (brotherhood or clan) is an endogamous group whose members claim descent through paternal ancestors, to a common male ancestor. The word is also used to refer to individuals or groups with whom there is a brotherly (loyal) relationship. *Biradari* elders are respected and hold the powerful position of maintaining *izzat* (prestige or pride) within the *biradari*. Deviants who threaten the *izzat* are reprimanded. *Biradari* members are bound by highly defined rights and duties, sentiments and general conduct. The *biradari* fosters a strong sense of identity and psychological security. Through the *biradari* advice, welfare and banking services are conferred. The *biradari* is supported financially through a system of gifts and in return extends financial support to *biradari* families at times of considerable expenditure, for example, rites of passage, family events such as the birth or marriage of a child. The *biradari* offers a crucial support system for a relatively poor population, living in a country with no formal welfare system and limited medical facilities.

The *biradari* defines social and interpersonal behaviours both inside and outside the group. Group members are discouraged from forming special alliances within the *biradari* and from extravagant gifts or donations which could not be matched by the less fortunate members of the network. The *biradari* defines and reinforces strict codes of personal and public behaviour. The *biradari* encourages preferential cousin marriage. This is one way of avoiding anguish over the status of the partner in the match and of ensuring that land and property remains within the kinship group. It also provides a way for the bride to remain in contact with her natal family and avoid the hazards of an unknown household after marriage. The *biradari* extends beyond the

village and those long distances away remain in close contact and return to attend important family occasions.

Mirpuri villagers are mostly Moslems of the Sunni sect. Islam remains a strong influence on daily life in village society with no distinction made between the religious and the secular. Central to the Islamic faith is belief in *Allah* (God) and submission to *the will of Allah* (the meaning of Islam), which is manifest in the *Qur'an* (Holy Book). The tenets of Islamic faith pervade the daily routines of village life with prayers five times a day and the annual calendar built around periods of fasting, mourning and Islamic festivals.

If the Mirpuri attitude towards geographical mobility is pragmatic, the attitude towards *vilayat* (Britain derived from Blighty England) is perhaps idealised. *Vilayat* is perceived as a land of wealth and security where fortunes are amassed. However, personal symbols of success and fortune, even if accrued for the collective good, are achieved at a cost. There is no respect for the morality of *vilayat* where the women behave immodestly, travel alone, talk freely with unrelated men and do not cover their bodies. Nor is there envy of the Western family which appears small and without love, where children in their teens leave their parents and old people live alone.

2.8.2 The Mirpuri Community in Cleveland

A general profile of the ethnic minority communities in Cleveland County (including the Mirpuris) has been summarised by the Research and Intelligence Unit (September 1989:06-07):

as a young population, with a relatively high number of births, growing since 1981. The growth is likely to continue whilst ... (the) total population is declining. Hence the ethnic minority population will represent an increasing proportion of (the) population.

The rapid increase in the number of young children within the community will make education a growing community concern. The children who are the focus of this study are born to parents whose families originate from the Mirpur district of Pakistan. Religion is a central part of life in their community. Social customs are justified in terms of religious belief and it remains one of the bonds important in the maintenance of the community's social solidarity and cultural cohesion. Since Arabic is the language of Islam, it also has implications for language learning and teaching within the community. Most communities now have the mosque as the focal point. Mosques are more than the meeting place for life cycle and religious celebration. They also serve an education function, teaching the *Qur'an*, Urdu and Arabic to children at the weekend and in the evenings. The mosque is also the meeting place for five times daily prayers. The Friday sermon from the Imam reminds the community of their duties, reinforcing the sense of group solidarity derived from the *biradari*.

In addition to the local mosques which reinforce the Moslem religion there are other religious centres. These include the Islamic foundation, the UK Islamic Mission, the Moslem Welfare Association, the Moslem Youth Organisation, the Pakistan Welfare Organisation, the Pakistan Social and Cultural Circle and Urdu Markaz (the Urdu Centre). They all contribute to strengthening community identity through the Islamic tradition, via a range of social, cultural as well as religious functions and activities. These include the celebration of the major Islamic festivals of *Id-ul-fitr*, the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting; *Id-ul-Azha* associated with Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son; and *bara-wafaat* the prophet Mohammed's birthday.

The earlier description of the *biradari* presents it as a very important concept in describing Urdu-Panjabi communities in Britain. *Biradari* members maintain close relationships even in Britain. Members frequently pool resources to buy a house or

start a business. Contact is frequent with regular visits for family celebrations including births, weddings, religious festivals and cultural ceremonies.

The *biradari* is a powerful social network that sometimes serves to maintain and reinforce boundaries and cultural practices, in particular the practice of *purdah* which restricts the movements of women within the boundaries of the *biradari*. Today *purdah* rarely means the total seclusion of women within a household, although traditionally this was the practice.

Another distinctive feature of the Mirpuri community in Britain is the regular links maintained with 'the homeland'. It is usual practice for families to send children to Pakistan on a regular basis for visits which can last for several months. This serves as an enculturation process for the generations of children, born in Britain, who can experience at first hand, life in the rural Moslem community of their ascendants, an experience which the community does not believe it is possible to provide in Britain, even within the Mirpuri community. Reciprocal visits from Pakistan are equally as usual.

The cultural and social activities reinforce both the *biradari* and the links with the homeland, Pakistan. Videos of Urdu, Panjabi and Hindi films and their music are popular entertainment. So are events like *Mushairas* and *Qawwalis*. *Mushairas* are public gatherings where poets recite lyrics known as *gazal*, the most popular of the classical forms of Urdu poetry. *Qawwali* music is the devotional music of the *Sufis*, the mystics of Islam. It dates back to the tenth century and the lyrics are usually in Urdu, Panjabi or Farsi. Both *Mushairas* and *Qawwalis* are organised by the local community and may take place three or four times a year.

2.9 Education Provision within the Biradari

Cleveland's Mirpuri community have established a number of organisations and associations to provide for a variety of social, cultural and educational needs. These include the education needs of different sectors of the community. The 1989 Research and Intelligence Survey identified the following organisations (presented in alphabetical order) affiliated to Cleveland Community Relations Council:

- Asian Girls Class
- Cleveland Asian Women's Association
- Islamic Society
- Middlesbrough Mosque Committee
- Pakistani Students Association
- Stockton Mosque
- Teesside Pakistani Association
- Thornaby Moslem Association

These represent the largest, most well founded and officially recognised groups. Doubtless other, less official groups, also exist.

2.10 Attitudes to Language Learning within the Mirpuri Community

The migrant groups from Pakistan, India, the Panjab and Bangladesh bring with them to Britain, their adopted homeland, more than their cultural and linguistic heritage. They also carry personal and collective expectations of linguistic pluralism. Within the communities there is the expectation that official languages and regional languages, will differ from the vernacular of the home and inter-personal contacts. The Mirpuri community in Britain holds to the expectation of both personal and societal multilingualism as the norm. They carry this expectation with them from their homeland where language learning is not linked directly with formal education or

regarded as synonymous with other aspects of educational success. Learning languages is regarded as a necessity of everyday life. New languages are learned because they are needed for routine communications. Different types of exchanges with different interlocutors require different languages.

The expectation from within the Mirpuri community is that individuals will learn and use different languages and language varieties for different purposes in different situations or domains. It reinforces the description of bilingualism and language choice as 'domain determined' (Fishman, Cooper & Ma, 1971). The Mirpuri orthodoxy of language learning is different from the prevalent attitude in Britain, particularly from within the formal education system. Within the Mirpuri community language learning is not necessarily a formal school based activity. Many young children learn the varieties of language used within the family and kinship groups, before they enter formal education. The *biradari* has a tradition of community support which although present in the homeland has assumed new roles and functions in the adopted country. These expectations of personal, community based multilingual proficiency contrast sharply with the personal aspirations of the indigenous British community and the education provision for language learning experiences within Britain. This attitude to multilingualism is explained by The Commission for Racial Equality (1982) in a discussion document:

throughout Asian history groups of people have expressed a desire to learn another language which they see as functionally more relevant than theirs. Asian children who speak Panjabi at home may well want to learn Urdu instead of Panjabi because this was the traditional language of learning for their parents. Those from East Panjab may well choose to study Hindi for religious reasons.

This positive attitude to linguistic diversity, not prevalent among the monolingual English speaking community, was probably not anticipated by educationalists and

language planners. It is a feature of the Mirpuri community's education needs which deserves attention.

2.11 Summary

This chapter has set the historical context for understanding the heterogeneous composition of present day Britain. One of the newly settled migrant communities from the Mirpur region has been identified for detailed discussion and the geographic, linguistic, cultural, social and religious features of this group have been described. This has set the context for the particular group of children in this study. Chapter 3 will outline the development of statutory education provision within Britain for bilingual children, including the children and grandchildren of these early Mirpuri migrants.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN BRITAIN

They behave this way not because I'm Black
but because they are white

Alice Walker

Possessing the Secret of Joy 1992:38

CHAPTER 3 - THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN BRITAIN

3.0 Introduction

Chapter 2 presented a view of Britain as a multilingual, multi-ethnic society. This heterogeneity has not always been welcomed or even acknowledged. In schools this lack of recognition has resulted in the lack of clearly stated policy for the education of these children, many of whom are bilingual. The aim of this chapter is to provide a critical overview of the development of education provision for bilingual children that has taken place in Britain since the 1960's. These comments do not apply to Wales where the situation is of course different.

The newly settled communities of ethnic Pakistani origin are not the only groups to contribute to the cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity to British schools. Since the mid-nineteenth century, there have been a variety of groups including, Polish, Ukrainian, Chinese, Yiddish, French, and many others, speaking languages other than English (Bourne, 1990). However, no major educational discussion of their needs began until the mid-1960's when with the arrival of migrants from the New Commonwealth multilingualism was perceived as an issue for society and educational policy makers. From the outset therefore, the presence of bilinguals from Pakistan (and its neighbouring region) provoked a response from society at large and education authorities in particular that was different from their response to other bilingual migrant groups.

3.1 The Assimilationist Approach

Throughout the 1960's, the education provided for bilingual children was characterised by its emphasis on assimilation into the dominant British culture through the English language. Its focus on teaching English as a second language (ESL), was frequently at the expense of the wider curriculum and always at the expense of the

pupils' home language(s). The teaching methodology was 'borrowed' from the British secondary school tradition of foreign language teaching, despite the inappropriateness of this approach for primary-aged pupils, some of whom were as young as five years.

By 1966 the need for the intensive teaching of English as a second language (TESL) was recognised under Section XI of the Local Government Act 1966. This enabled LEAs to claim a grant, at the rate of 75% of the salary paid to each teacher employed for this purpose. One outcome of this separate funding was the establishment of TESL provision outside of mainstream education. LEAs established peripatetic teams of English as a Second language (ESL) teachers to serve in primary schools and Language Centres (where older children were placed on arrival in Britain). TESL was seen as the key to assimilation and to the newcomers' rapid adaptation to the British way of life. Pupils' existing language skills were disregarded. This led the Swann Report to comment:

it seems to have been assumed that the children's own languages would simply die out and be replaced by English.

DES (1985:388)

With the benefit of hindsight, current thinking sees this policy in retrospect as discriminatory in effect, if not in intent. In summary, it can be said that Section XI funding led to separate English language teaching for children whose home language was not English. ESL teaching was made available to children whose community language was accorded language status. However, children of Caribbean origin whose first language was Creole, were not included in ESL provision.

The emphasis on assimilation did not however extend to religious practice in what was fast becoming a secularised Britain. The central importance of places of worship (in the case of the Mirpuri community this meant the Mosque), played an increasingly

important role in the everyday lives of these communities. This influence soon spread beyond the initial religious focus, to include cultural transmission and the reinforcement of ethnic group identity. For example, the teaching of home or community languages, frequently took place in religious centres. This wider role, encompassing ethnic, cultural, linguistic as well as religious aspects of life meant that places of worship assumed an increasingly significant role in the maintenance and reinforcement of ethnic identity within some of the settled communities.

The 1970's witnessed significant developments in the official recognition of the language needs of bilingual children outside Britain. In the United States the 1974 case of *Lau v. Nichols* established the rights of a non-English speaking child to a meaningful education which acknowledged the child's home language (in this case, Chinese). A year later in 1975, in Britain, the move from the assimilationist approach to the education of bilingual children towards integrationist thinking, was precipitated from an unexpected source. The 1975 Bullock Report presented the findings of a committee of enquiry into the teaching of reading in primary schools. The committee felt unable to isolate the teaching and learning of reading from other aspects of language learning, for example, oracy and writing. The Bullock Report, *A Language For Life*, (DES, 1975) addressed in its recommendations, the language needs of children still perceived at that time, as 'of immigrant origin' and was critical of language teaching which required a child to 'cast off the language of his (sic) home as he (sic) passes the school threshold' (DES, 1975: Chapter 5:20). The report suggested that :

the school should adopt positive attitudes to its pupils' bilingualism and wherever possible should help maintain and deepen the[ir] knowledge of the[ir] mother tongues.

DES (1975: Chapter 5:20)

The Bullock Report also described bilingualism as, 'an asset ... something to be nurtured' (DES, 1975:293) and suggested the school as one of the agencies which should nurture it (DES, 1975:294). This statement, together with a further recommendation for schools to formulate a language policy which included ESL provision, constituted a recommendation to schools to broaden their perception of ethnic minority educational needs, and to offer a wider curriculum that included broader cultural elements. Although the report raised awareness of the existing linguistic skills of ethnic minority pupils, there was little sign of the education system, or society at large, valuing these abilities as relevant to the pupil's educational achievement and progress. However, another factor combined with the Bullock Report to give impetus to the move away from educational policy dominated by assimilationist philosophy. This was the change in status of Black ethnic groups from an immigrant workforce to a settled community of British citizens (Mullard, 1984). The shift in status changed both society's and the groups' perception of their educational and social needs. This change was reflected in the British education system, when assimilationist education gave way to the development of Multicultural Education and the subsequent change in educational provision for bilingual children which ensued.

This national trend within Britain was supported by international developments of the late 1970's. In 1976 a draft EC directive on the language education of migrant workers was issued to interested parties throughout the European Community. It proposed that member states should offer free tuition in the national languages of migrant workers as part of the curriculum for full-time education. However, in 1977, only one year after the draft was first published, a significant modification was made that only required member states to **promote** mother tongue teaching (European Community, 1977). (An expanded discussion on the Britain's specific response to the modified directive will be presented in the next section).

3.2 The Pluralist Approach of Multicultural Education

The development of the concept of multicultural education broadened educational provision beyond English language teaching (ELT) to include cultural and religious teaching. Multi-faith celebrations and world religions joined the school curriculum. More significantly, it expanded language teaching to include mother-tongue teaching (as it was then called) and bilingual support, as part of ESL provision. Multicultural education placed increasing emphasis on developing the child's full linguistic competence. ESL teaching became sensitive to the existing linguistic competence of pupils for whom English was a second language. Their community languages were seen as a linguistic resource for ESL and other teaching.

However, this wider view of the role of language in the educational experience of ethnic minority pupils impinged only marginally on ESL provision, much of which, in terms of its underlying aims and assumptions, remained unchanged from the earlier days of assimilationist thinking. English remained the medium of instruction in all primary classrooms, as well as the medium used for testing educational achievement, particularly in the field of language development, reading, writing and oracy, and for assessing verbal reasoning or intelligence testing. Thus, bilingual children were compared and assessed in their educational achievements with their monolingual, English speaking peers. Bilingual pupils' seeming lack of achievement (as measured in English) was perceived as problematic. Bilingualism remained an unacknowledged resource which still did not feature as significant in educational assessment profiles or pupil records. The development of the home language, in those schools where community languages were taught, was seen only as a means of accelerating children's learning of English, their second or subsequent language, rather than a learning activity of intrinsic worth and value.

In retrospect it is possible to see how multicultural education failed to meet the needs of ethnic minority pupils in a number of ways. It was in some ways simply another

form of compensatory education, essentially no different in form from the assimilationist programmes which preceded it. It also failed to address the institutional practices and procedures identified in the Swann Report (DES, 1985) as the real causes of educational under-achievement among some bilingual children.

An alternative perspective on the educational under-achievement of certain groups of pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds was argued by Troyna (1991), who suggests that bilingual pupils are underrated rather than underachieving. However, current institutional practices identified by the Swann Report as disadvantageous to bilingual pupils remain in place even now. These include the testing and assessment procedures (SATs) which are now carried out annually as part of the 1988 Education Reform Act. Bilingual children are currently assessed through tests in English and their performance compared with mean scores that had been standardised on monolingual English speaking pupils.

In retrospect it seems that the multicultural education movement with its focus on a marginal curriculum for Black, ethnic minority children and which taught aspects of their everyday lives, (characterised as the tokenism of samosas, saris and steel bands), was no less marginalising than its predecessor, the assimilationist approach. Through this misfocus, the multicultural education movement failed to improve bilingual children's performance in mainstream curriculum activities. A society's values can be seen encapsulated within its education provision. Britain was still not acknowledging the multilingual nature of its population and this attitude was reflected in the education system.

In 1977, only two years after the publication of the Bullock Report, the European Economic Community issued a directive on 'The Education of the Children of Migrant Workers' (July 77/4861). Article 3, stated that it required member states:

in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems and in co-operation with the state of origin, to promote the teaching of the mother-tongue and culture in accordance with normal education.

European Community (1977:02)

EC Member states were required to comply with the directive from 25 July 1981, and the Commission issued a report on the implementation of the directive on 10 February 1984. In Britain, Circular No. 5/81 issued on 31 July of the same year, outlined the DES guidelines on compliance with Article 3. It stated:

for the local education authorities in this country, [the directive] implies that they should explore the ways in which mother-tongue teaching might be provided, whether during or outside school hours, but not that they are required to give such tuition to all individuals as of right.

DES (1981:02)

Thus it could be inferred that the British education system was not making adequate provision for the educational needs of bilingual pupils. A follow-up EC Report in 1984 on the implementation of the 1977 Directive showed that Britain was, at that time, lagging behind other member states in complying with the Directive, with only 2.2 % of the primary school aged children from homes where languages other than English were spoken receiving home language teaching at school, compared for example, with 80% of the children of the same age in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, Article 3 met with a mixed response from within minority communities. It was regarded (from both inside and outside these groups) as separating ethnic minority groups and differentiating their right to educational provision. On the one hand those linguistic minorities from EC states who were not living in the EC state of their birth (and for whom the EC Directive was originally intended), were entitled to home language teaching when resident in their host community, while those linguistic minority groups, many of whom were British citizens and living in the EC state of their birth (Britain), enjoyed no such entitlement.

Thus, the settled migrant communities in Britain felt disenchantment on two fronts: firstly, with their exclusion from the EC Directive and secondly, with the multicultural education initiative which they perceived as conceptually unsound in both its theoretical foundation and its practical implications. This dual disenchantment coincided with a developing political awareness within Black ethnic minority groups whose newly found confidence accompanied their change in status from that of *immigrant* to that of British citizen. The dissatisfaction felt amongst educationalists representing ethnic minority educational rights stemmed from the disregard of education planners for the theoretical and practised models of bilingual education that existed both elsewhere throughout the EC and internationally.

The Multicultural Education Movement has been criticised from a number of sources. Churchill's (1986) overview of the principles used by policy makers in OECD countries in their attempts to meet the educational needs of linguistic and cultural minority groups has identified a number of ways in which the various attempts (including those in Britain) failed to meet the needs of the groups that they were established to serve, namely the ethnic minorities. His view is that:

the policy making process that emerges from the analysis is one where policy is rooted in societal assumptions about the role of linguistic and cultural minorities, based in turn upon historical factors, in which the strongest is the development of public education ... mainly in a context of linguistic uniformity... These assumptions result in definable types of problem definitions that are in large measure a function of the characteristics of minority populations concerned and of the level of educational provision available for them at a given point in time. Minority aspirations depend in turn, on the level of educational provision made at a given time, and the response to their need is a function of their level of aspiration, a sort of circular relationship.

Churchill (1986:155)

Churchill suggests that:

the often abysmal results obtained by educational policies are traced in large measure to the limits placed by public opinion and by accepted problem definitions on the range of policy options that can be considered and adopted by authorities.

Churchill (1986:03)

His are not the only criticisms. Bourne (1990) has identified specific ways in which the recommendations of the Swann Report (DES, 1985) have not been achieved, a decade after its publication. These will be discussed later in this chapter. Thus it was that disenchantment with the multicultural education initiative gave rise to the Anti-Racist Education Movement.

3.3 Anti-Racist Education Movement

Mullard (1984) presents the case for anti-racist education as a development within the Black Consciousness Movement of the mid 1960's. He worked with the National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME) and was instrumental in changing the name and focus of that group. In 1985 it became the National Anti-racist Movement in Education, retaining the acronym NAME.

For Mullard (1984:29) the move from multicultural to anti-racist education is not a mere question of alternatives. He perceives the shift in emphasis as linked closely with the change in status of Black ethnic minority groups from that of immigrant to Black British citizen. He suggests that the anti-racist approach to education reflects the socio-political values of the Black ethnic groups:

in their ... struggles and resistances against colonialism, imperialism and metropolitan racism.

Mullard (1984:09)

Mullard (1984) and Sivanandan (1982) both view the growth of anti-racist education as a parallel to the life experiences of Black people in a white society. Mullard presents the argument for anti-racist education:

as the re-articulation of Black ethnicity through the structural-cultural experiences of Black people in British society.

(Mullard, 1984:24)

The study presented here, the Box Hill Nursery Project, is about the experiences of young bilingual pupils in formal education. Mullard (1984:50-51) identifies the pre-school nursery as the most important and yet most difficult educational institution in which to address the needs of Black ethnic minority children, in terms of acknowledging and nurturing their ethnic identity. This he attributes to the informal organisation and structure of the nursery school curriculum and its classroom procedures. His view is that despite the seeming informality of the pre-school context, nursery education is 'one of the most rigid situations of all' and that it over emphasises the caring role at the expense of the educating function.

3.4 The Swann Report - Education for All?

In 1985 (the same year that the acronym NAME changed its meaning) a report of major significance for the education of bilingual children was published. The report, *Education For All* contained the recommendations of the Swann Committee, established in 1979, whose terms of reference included:

recognising the contribution of schools in preparing all pupils for life in society which is both multi-racial and culturally diverse.

DES (1985:vii)

Although the primary focus of the committee was the children of Afro-Caribbean origin and their educational under-achievement in relation to their peers, the Report included a broader discussion of the educational needs of other children of former

migrant communities. Swann's response to educational provision for bilingual pupils was that:

essential to equality of opportunity, to academic success and broadly, to participation on equal terms as a full member of society, it is a good command of English and that first priority in language learning ... must therefore be given to the learning of English.

DES (1985:426)

Although committed to English as the language of education, the report stated suggested changes in provision. The Report favoured a move away from separate ESL teaching and recommended that the needs of bilingual learners be met within mainstream school as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for all children (DES 1985: Par 5.2).

The Swann Report acknowledged the importance of fostering positive ethnic identity. They recommended a broader base for doing this through cultural and religious teaching as well as through language use. The committee did attempt to incorporate a broader definition of bilingualism. However, on the subject of bilingual education, the report did little to advance thinking amongst educationalists. It stated:

we cannot support the arguments put forward for the introduction of programmes of bilingual education in maintained schools.

DES (1985: Par 3.15)

The report was equally unequivocal in its response to the provision for languages other than English. While recommending that community languages and home languages should be valued in the mainstream curriculum, enriching the linguistic awareness of monolingual pupils, the committee remained firmly opposed to any separate provision for language maintenance classes or bilingual forms of education. They stated that mainstream schools should not seek to assume the role of community

providers for maintaining ethnic minority community languages (DES 1985: Par 3.18).

The committee did however, make two important exceptions. Their first recommendation was for the provision of bilingual support to help pupils make the transition between their home languages and English, the medium of instruction in the early years. This was really the starting point for the study presented here. It was felt that the use of language in the classroom at the stage of transition from home to school, in the nursery school, would provide an opportunity for observing the transition and the role played by language in the process.

The second recommendation was for community languages to be included in the foreign language curriculum of secondary schools where there is likely to be sufficient demand. This recommendation will also have implications for the future education of the children included in this study, when they reach secondary school. The statement says that all pupils in those schools where community languages are in demand should be encouraged to consider studying them (DES, 1985: Pars 3, 19 and 3.20). While this support was welcome, it failed to go far enough in its support of community languages within mainstream secondary foreign language provision. It confines the community languages, including Urdu, Arabic, Hindi, Bengali and Panjabi to name but a few, to those schools where there is a concentration of pupils interested in learning these languages. This contrasts sharply with the provision and resourcing of the other languages included in the foreign language curriculum and automatically affects the status of these community languages in comparison with those already established within the foreign language curriculum. It also reinforces the place of foreign language teaching within the secondary school curriculum.

If the Swann Committee's recommendations had been implemented after 1985, Bourne (1990:05) outlines six developments that one would expect to find five years after the Committee made its recommendations. These are:

- 1) A movement away from the provision of English language support provision in separate centres and withdrawal classes, and increasing efforts to provide structures of support within the mainstream classroom.
- 2) An increase in in-service training and support for mainstream teachers to enable them to meet the needs of learners with a range of linguistic backgrounds.
- 3) A change of emphasis from specially funded 'Section XI' English language support posts towards seeing language support as a mainstream responsibility, perhaps with fewer, but more experienced and specialised 'ESL' teachers.
- 4) An emphasis on the recruitment of community language teachers, both in mainstream subject areas, and for 'bilingual support' (primary) and community languages teaching (secondary).
- 5) An increase in the provision for 'bilingual support' (primary) and community languages classes (secondary).
- 6) Increasing support for voluntary community group organised language classes in after-school hours.

Bourne (1990:05).

However, the findings of a national survey conducted by NFER between 1985 and 1988 into Local Education Authority (LEA) provision for language support for the curriculum learning of bilingual pupils, and for the teaching of the languages of local linguistic minority groups in the schools of England and Wales (Bourne, 1990), identified seven constraints on the further development of provision for bilingual pupils (Bourne 1990:12):

- 1) The absence of clear structures for consultation with minority linguistic groups at national and local levels on appropriate provision.
- 2) The absence of forceful policy and funding targeted at teacher training institutions to increase the admission and training of bilingual teachers as language specialists and on mainstream subject courses.
- 3) The absence of explicitly targeted national in-service priority funding for helping schools to respond to bilingualism effectively.
- 4) The absence of any central curriculum and materials development body for bilingualism and community languages.
- 5) The expectation among LEAs that any provision for bilingual pupils should be supported by extra, special funding.
- 6) The lack of clarity in Home Office 'Section XI' regulations for funding, and the absence of any more appropriate source of funding for educational provision specifically to meet the needs of minority linguistic groups in England.
- 7) The paucity of widely available documented models of good practice in adopting mainstream provision for multilingual classrooms, and of models of practice for community languages teaching in mixed first and second language classrooms.

Such findings illustrate that there is a visible shortfall in the recommendations made by the Swann Committee (DES, 1985) and the subsequent implementation of those recommendations with regard to the education of bilingual children. If the purpose of the Committee was to identify ways in which all pupils could benefit from the compulsory education provision, and if their recommendations were designed to

provide a structured move towards equality of access to education for pupils, and greater participation in educational decision making for ethnic minority groups, the question raised by Bourne's (1990) findings is, have these recommendations been implemented, and if the answer, as Bourne's findings suggest, be no, then the cornerstone of Swann's Report, *Education For All*, is questionable.

The omission from the Swann Committee's recommendations pertaining to home language teaching and bilingual support was a disregard of the evidence which exists indicating the central role of languages (first and subsequent) in the learning process. A separate professional report carried out by HMI for the DES into *Mother Tongue Teaching in School and Community*, (DES, 1984), took a slightly different view on the education issues raised by the topic. Their report stated that progress in community language teaching would depend on:

establishing a firmer base of accurate knowledge of pupils'
existing language skills in their mother-tongues.

DES (1984:24)

The report perceived a gap in existing knowledge of the language use of bilingual children and suggested a linguistic description of bilingual children's language repertoire was needed before more concrete recommendations could be made (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). In their survey report of four LEAs (Ealing, ILEA, Manchester and Walsall) the HMI took a slightly different view from Swann in the question of first language provision within mainstream education. DES (1984:07) 'strongly endorsed' the six principles identified by one of the authorities in its documented policy statement. One principle endorsed by DES is particularly significant. They state:

it is educationally desirable that bilingual children in primary schools should be given the chance to read and write their mother-tongues and to extend their oral skills in these languages.

DES (1984:07)

3.5 Current Policy in Britain

Since 1988 there has been provision for a national curriculum in Britain. The Cox Report was the discussion document which preceded the introduction of the National Curriculum for English. The terms of reference of the Cox Committee (DES, 1989) stipulated that the Committee concern itself with the English curriculum for all pupils, whatever their first language. The supplementary guidance to the working group stressed that:

the framework (for English) should ensure, at the minimum, that all school-leavers are competent in the use of English - written and spoken, whether or not it is their first language.

DES (June, 1989: Par 10.1)

The Working Group was also informed that it:

should also take account of the ethnic diversity of the school population and society at large, bearing in mind the cardinal point that English should be the first language and medium of instruction for all pupils in England.

DES (June 1989: Par 10.1)

In their recommendations (DES, June 1989) the Cox Committee reaffirmed the Swann Committee's belief that:

the key to equality of opportunity, to participation on equal terms as a full member of society, is a good command of English.

DES (1985: Chapter 7, Par. 3.16)

Their Report included a chapter on Bilingual Children (DES, June 1989: Chapter 10).

In this chapter, the Committee reiterated:

the cardinal point that English should be the first language of and medium of instruction for all pupils in England.

DES (June 1989: 10.01)

However, it should be noted that pupils in Welsh medium schools in Wales were to be excluded from the supplementary guidance from the Secretary of State for Education. This exclusion clause once again differentiated between groups of bilingual British and EC citizens. Dissatisfaction with this differential treatment is now evident from an unexpected source. Parents in Wales are to appeal to the House of Lords after a five year campaign against Dyfed (a Welsh local education authority) county council's bilingual education policy, under which English speaking children in predominantly Welsh speaking areas are required to attend Welsh language schools. The appeal (reported in 'The Independent' 11 July, 1994) is based on the right of the child to be educated in the home language. If successful, the implications will spread beyond Wales. This is but one example of the anomalies of statutory provision to exist within the 1988 Education Reform Act. This exclusion clause once again differentiates between groups of bilingual British citizens.

3.6 English in the National Curriculum

English is now decisively defined as the language of compulsory education provision in Britain for the majority of pupils aged between 5 and 16 years. (except in Wales as we saw above where the situation is more complex and will not be included in this discussion). The programmes of study for English (and other core subjects of the National Curriculum) are linked closely to attainment targets and pupil assessment. This inevitably means that if all children are to be taught and assessed in the English language, community language bilingual children are still to be compared with their monolingual English speaking peers, and the full range of their linguistic repertoire will continue to be unrecognised in their learning and formal school assessments. Irrespective of the Cox Committee's disclaimer of inconsistency and unreasonable discrimination, it is likely that the assessment profiles of ethnic minority pupils (a statutory requirement of the 1988 legislation) will record a lower level of performance because the assessment will be carried out in English and will exclude from the

assessment those languages in which the pupil may be competent. It will not therefore be a comprehensive record of their linguistic repertoire and may even result in an inaccurate record of their linguistic competence. This is one way in which the Cox Report and the subsequent legislation can be interpreted as 'discriminatory'. There is another, namely, the proviso under Section 19 of the 1988 Education Act, which allows disapplication of the provision of the National Curriculum and which enables Headteachers to exempt some pupils from the assessment requirements for English, if it is considered that those pupils have language difficulties so severe as to render the assessment unworkable.

In practice this could lead to some bilingual children being separated from their monolingual peers for assessment purposes. Since assessment procedures are to be linked to attainment targets, which in turn are linked to programmes of study, this could also lead to the same pupils being separated for teaching purposes also. Section 19 (of the 1988 Education Act) is a conundrum. It allows for the possibility of preclusion from the curriculum by the very Act which is said to ensure entitlement to a national curriculum for all pupils aged between 5 and 16 years in compulsory education.

Assessment takes place at the age of seven years(Y2). Even if bilingual pupils are not excluded from the assessments (SATs), it seems reasonable to speculate that some children may achieve a comparatively low level of performance in their assessment. This achievement will be marked on education records, with the result that the institutional practices and procedures identified by Swann as being discriminatory to ethnic minority pupils, have been perpetuated and enshrined in the 1988 legislation. To reiterate Troyna's (1991) point, bilingual pupils will remain under-achievers simply because their abilities are under-rated.

Despite the fact that the Cox Committee continue to refute accusations of inconsistency or discrimination against community language bilinguals, the position of community language speaking pupils does seem anomalous when they are compared with the Committee's recommendations for their Welsh speaking bilingual peers. If education policy decision at national level chooses not to address the educational needs of significant numbers of the population, the stated aim of the 1988 Education Act of each pupil's entitlement to education is questionable.

3.7 Future Policy for Bilingual Pupils in Britain

In January 1995 the National Curriculum (Post Dearing) documents were issued with the promise that there would be no major changes in the curriculum content for the next five years. How the educational needs of bilingual children in British schools is to be met remains unstated.

The 1988 Reform Act gives each child an entitlement to education. One of its stated aims is to prepare pupils for adult life. This has frequently been represented to mean preparation for the work place. However, there is a broader meaning to preparation for adult life which encompasses active citizenship. The success of the 1988 Education Reform Act is still to be assessed. Its success should not only be judged by the ways in which it creates an appropriately trained workforce but also by the ways in which it develops individuals. In order to achieve this, British schools will need to meet the challenges of both the 1976 Race Discrimination Act and the 1988 legislation. Thus the challenge identified by Swann (DES 1985:90) of 'evolving an education system which ensures that all pupils achieve their full potential' should once again be under active consideration by the teaching profession, educational policy makers, politicians but above all by the community groups who speak these languages.

Progress in education provision from assimilation through multicultural education and anti-racist education reflects the change in status of certain ethnic minority groups from immigrants to British citizens. However, despite its heterogeneous, multilingual population, Britain unlike, for example, Canada, Wales and Australia, does not have an official national language policy. In the description and analysis of the education provision for bilingual children in British schools since the 1960's up to and including the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988, presented here, the inherent value system of education policy makers is clear. English is now firmly established as the only official language of mainstream education in Britain. Foreign languages are taught in secondary schools but these are almost exclusively defined in terms of modern European languages. French and German are taught while Urdu and Panjabi are not.

Despite the lack of a national language policy Ingram (1990) suggests that it is still possible to infer policy in Britain:

language-in-education planning is the process involved in demonstrating how the ideals, goals and content of a language policy can be realised in practice. In case a country does not possess a clearly formulated and stated language policy, ... it is possible to infer a policy from the States's social, demographic, and economic structure, its international relationships, and general developments in policy nationally.

Ingram (1990:01)

Policy statements are important because as Kroon & Vallen (1994) remind us, language and education policy are not at all abstract; they form part of people's everyday lives.

The current situation in Britain is that the full linguistic repertoire of some pupils is not being reflected in classroom teaching. It is ignored as an individual, societal and national resource. By preferring to concentrate resources and teaching in a number of ways that fail to acknowledge bilingualism as a positive intellectual, social and

educational advantage for pupils, education provision is undervaluing, undermining and underselling significant groups within British society. At present there has emerged a practice of unofficial English language immersion programmes. This has come about almost by default. What is needed for the future is **planned** education provision that accords the teaching and learning of language(s) and culture(s) a more central role within compulsory education, beginning in the primary school. Without a policy statement it is not possible to monitor the impact and changes that are taking place. It is also difficult to ensure that all children are receiving the education best suited to their needs.

3.8 Bilingual Children in Pre-School

At present nursery education within Britain is not compulsory. It falls outside statutory provision and hence official education policy. However, there is support from a variety of sources (DES, 1975; Fishman, 1989; Mullard, 1984) for the view that the point of transition to formal schooling is an important one in the life of bilingual children. There is also support for the view that this period of transition is difficult for young children to make (Tizard & Hughes, 1984 and Willes, 1983). There is a paucity of research into the effects of the transition on young bilingual children. However, research into the experiences of monolingual pupils suggests that nursery education may have a formative influence on later academic achievement and success (Tizard et al, 1988). Therefore, despite the fact that it falls outside of statutory provision, there is evidence to suggest that nursery education is an important stage in the education of young children.

The point of transition from the home to formal schooling has been identified as a critical stage in the development of the bilingual child (DES, 1975; Mullard, 1984). This stage is more critical for the child who is simultaneously moving from one linguistic community to another, without prior experience of their new community. In the context of the British education system, this point of transition is the nursery

school. This gives support to others, including Fishman (1989) for the nursery school as an appropriate focus for research interest.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has outlined the development of educational provision for bilingual children in Britain since the 1960's up to and including the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988. The nature of these education policies has been analysed and it has been suggested that they have failed to address fully the language needs of bilingual children, preferring to concentrate resources and teaching in a number of ways that fail to acknowledge bilingualism as a positive intellectual, social and educational advantage. Further, it is suggested that explicit statements of support for bilingual pupils (DES, 1975 & DES, 1985) has been resisted. Due to the lack of a clearly stated national policy for the education of bilingual pupils there has emerged a practice of unofficial immersion programmes for teaching English.

To date, no systematic national programme exists in Britain to meet the language needs of bilingual children. Criticism of the current state can be found in Pattanayak's (1991) statement in the Foreword to Alladina & Edwards (1991). He suggests that:

the multicultural debate in the UK, unfortunately, has ... got bogged down in the spurious controversy between multicultural and anti-racist education. Instead of discussion cultural variation and the cultural interaction between shared values and culture-specific values, this debate has been lost in the metalanguage of models and the muddles they have created.

Pattanayak (1991: vii)

A further criticism of the education provision for bilingual pupils is that it has been conceived by British Educationalists in the early stages, without reference to, or liaison with the community groups for whom they were planning and providing a compulsory education system. It is therefore hardly surprising that it failed, at least in

part, to meet the personal and educational aspirations of the bilingual groups it was designed to serve.

Finally, it is suggested that nursery education is important for monolingual children because it has been identified by Tizard et al (1988) as influencing later academic achievement and success at school. If this is the case for monolingual children, it is suggested that nursery education may be equally as influential in the lives of young bilingual pupils. Transition from the home to formal schooling has been identified as a critical stage in the development of the bilingual child (DES, 1975; Mullard, 1984, and Fishman, 1989) and a worthy focus of research interest.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Murderers, or great criminals, should ideally be
done: plenty of time to plan the coup and no
curious questions or inquisitive glances once it
is done.

Anita Brookner
A Start in Life 1991:09

CHAPTER 4 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

4.0 Introduction

Before presenting the detailed report on the investigation carried out in Box Hill Nursery, it is first necessary to outline the theoretical paradigms which have provided the foundations for this study. It is difficult to trace precisely all that has influenced one's ideas but this chapter outlines three key influences on my developing ideas about language learning in young children. The chapter attempts to bring together ideas from psychology, systemic linguistics and sociolinguistics that are not usually considered simultaneously. The aim is to attempt an integrated approach to the study of young bilingual learners.

This chapter presents three equally established theoretical frameworks that form the conceptual framework for this study. The first is Vygotsky's (1962; 1966 & 1978) view of a the child as a social being, as one involved in the social order of things from the very early stages of life. The second is systemic linguistics (in the tradition of Firth, 1968; Halliday, 1973; 1975 & 1978 and others) which describes language as social behaviour and the third, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) description of bilingualism as an act of identity. In order to understand these underpinning conceptual frameworks, a more detailed examination of each is necessary.

4.1 Vygotsky - The Social Psychologist

Central to Vygotsky's view is the idea of the child as a social being. His view is that language is inextricably tied to cognitive and behavioural systems, it interacts with them and serves their continuous development. Vygotsky (1962; 1966 & 1978) regards human activity as a tool and suggests that people use tools as a means of achieving, changing and transforming themselves. He developed this view to include the use of sign systems that include spoken language, written language and number

systems, all of which are created by the societies to serve unique needs. He suggests that these systems are amenable to change.

Vygotsky parallels the child's development in spoken and written language with cultural changes in the use of these sign systems. Vygotsky's theory rests on the fundamental premise that development occurs on a social level within a cultural context. He suggests that the child learns by internalising processes witnessed in social activity. The young child moves from a social to an individual plane, or in the terms of Vygotsky's theory, from the *inter*-psychological functioning to *intra*-psychological functioning. Vygotsky's view of the child learning can be summarised as determined by social functioning. In his view the structure of an individual child's mental processes mirrors the social milieu from which they are derived.

Central to Vygotsky's theory is the view of intellectual growth contingent on learning language, (the social means of thought). His view of thought and intellectual development as dependant upon language have been developed and expanded by Luria (1978). The Vygotskian perspective has a number of key concepts that help to explain how this ontogenesis takes place. Speech which begins as a shared social activity on the part of the child, becomes a principal means of the mental regulation and refinement of individual behaviour. Vygotsky (and his followers, eg Luria) describe three types of regulations in communication activities. These are:

Object-regulation: a person is object-regulated when directly controlled by the environment. Prabhu (1989) outlines one example of object-regulation in the education context when a school or classroom syllabus is dominated by text books and other materials that assume intrinsic power because of the ways in which they are used by teachers as controlling mechanisms. (It is possible for the National Curriculum to be viewed or misused in this way).

Other-regulation: when a person is controlled by another person. The teacher in the classroom for example can use this form of regulation as both a positive and negative influence. It can either be used by the teacher (or adult) as a means of imposing control over the child or as a way of supporting the child through to understanding in a structured environment.

Self-regulation: where speech or spoken language is used to control oneself through self-directed utterances. Vygotsky (1962) suggests that this is denoted mature linguistic ability. This feature of language use will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 10 when describing individual children's language behaviour.

A central idea to Vygotsky's descriptions of language learning in young children is that of *inner* or *private speech*. This is sometimes referred to as *speech-for-oneself*. He suggests that children find it helpful to speak aloud about that they are doing. This talk can take the form of dialogue or monologue. The latter is described as abbreviated structures that may not be meaningful to a listener because they are unlikely to be able to share the speaker's thoughts. This is a use of language also noted by Piaget who suggests that it merely 'withers away' as the child grows older. Vygotsky attaches greater significance to the child's private speech. He suggests that *speech-for-oneself* becomes internalised as verbal thinking. Thus speech-for-oneself assumes a much greater significance in the development of the child's language and thoughts.

4.1.1 Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development

Vygotsky makes a distinction between *learning* and *development*. He suggests that learning is related to formal educational situations and contexts while development happens in a less contrived way. This distinction in his theory leads Vygotsky to describe a central notion of his theory, the *zone of proximal development*, which he uses to explain the distinction between a child's *actual* development, as measured for

example, by IQ tests, and the child's *potential* development. Vygotsky suggests that in order to assess the potential development level, it is necessary to present the child with a problem, the solution to which is just beyond present mental capacities, and then to allow the child to interact with another (more experienced) person while working out the solution. Vygotsky suggests that the processes by which the child arrives at the solution provides a more accurate assessment of the intellectual capacity than traditional IQ tests.

Vygotsky's theoretical construct of a zone of proximal development concurs with the social nature of learning. He suggests that:

what a child can do in collaboration today, he can do alone tomorrow.

Vygotsky (1962:104)

This is a view of learning reinforcing the social nature of the activity. It stands in contrast to the Piagetian view of the child as the lone scientist trying to work out a view of the world independently and alone, a view that has been criticised by Donaldson (1978) because it underestimates the capabilities of young learners.

Vygotsky's theory of a zone of proximal development is not a stage confined to childhood. He suggests that it is evident at every stage of human development when a person is moving from not knowing through a learning phase with the support of external agencies, people or other learning supports. This idea has been developed and extended by Bruner (1986) who describes the critical function of the support given to the learner through the zone of proximal development as *scaffolding*, or 'appropriate social interactional frameworks'.

Vygotsky's view emphasises the role played by adults, competent peers and experienced others in early learning. They each play a crucial supporting role in

helping the learner towards the time when they have a degree of control over a new function or conceptual system. When the child has arrived at the stage of independence, learning has taken place and the child is then in a position to achieve a degree of control over what has been learned. At this point the new learning can be used as a tool and the external agent or scaffolding is no longer required.

Language plays a central role in Vygotsky's theories of child learning. It is therefore important to seek a compatible description of language. Foley (1991) suggests that:

seeing language as socio-semiotic is the only adequate way of coming to understand this transition (through the zone of proximal development), since the linguistic sign is used for social purposes and as a means of influencing others.

Foley (1991:20)

This leads us to the second influence under-pinning this investigation, the description of language as socio-semiotic.

4.2 Language as Socio-Semiotic

This section will outline the development of linguistic theory from Malinowski and Firth to Halliday. It will chart linguists' recognition of contextual factors and the subsequent influence that these factors exert when people use language. It will be argued that people use language for realising social situations and that context therefore, is an essential aspect of a linguistic description. Specifically, this section will chart the predominantly socially orientated linguistic descriptions provided by the development of systemic linguistics, with its sources in the works of Malinowski, Firth, and later, Halliday.

The development of Systemic Linguistics developed out of Saussurian and Bloomfieldian linguistics, which in the pursuit of establishing linguistics as a science,

directed linguists towards the study of text in the abstract. Saussure (1916/74:80) considered text as a unit of social interaction too individual, too momentary, too context bound to be of general use. Bloomfield (1930/70:230; 1933/43:139-57) acknowledged that contextual factors may influence how people use language for realising social activities, but he did not consider it the task of linguistics to account for such matters because he believed that it could not be achieved in a scientific manner.

However, in contrast to the Saussurian and Bloomfieldian approach, Malinowski and Firth viewed language as realising social acts in the context of situations and cultures. Malinowski's view (1923/66:310) is that in society, language performs certain functions in the lives of that society's members. He explains that language functions in a number of ways:

- 1) It realises action (for example, the handing over of a utensil or instructing a person in its use).
- 2) It expresses social and emotional functions (for example, narratives express the social togetherness of a society).
- 3) It realises phatic communion (for example members of a society create 'ties of union' by small talk or by exchanging greetings).

Malinowski's distinctions can be regarded as the first classifications of social activities grouped according to their function as either:

- a) service encounters or
- b) social/emotional genres or
- c) casual conversations.

For Malinowski:

a statement spoken in real life, is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered ... the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation.

Malinowski (1923/66:307)

Malinowski's (1923/66:310-11) description of how a fishing activity unfolds contextually as a social process, is now established as a cornerstone of sociolinguistics. Through this description Malinowski reveals the patterning of the generic structure of the fishing text. This he does in two ways: firstly, by showing how a social activity unfolds as a generic structure and secondly, by outlining how register (language) choices are made in each structural element of the social activity or genre.

Malinowski's description of genre patterning can be used as a framework for describing other social contexts. It can be used to show how a social activity unfolds as a generic structure in a text. This it does in a number of ways: by showing the participants' orientations to the relevant institutions and objects (Field) in that text; by revealing the relations between participants (Tenor) and by demonstrating how communications channels (Mode that is, register choices) are selected in each structural element of the genre. At each stage in the unfolding of the social activity there are changes which are recognised as having 'linguistic consequences':

linguistic material is ... dependent upon the course of activity.

Malinowski (1923/66:311)

The activities which unfold in contexts thereby organise the linguistic materials in the text and determine the register choices or modes made in each stage in the unfolding of the genre. Register choice or language choice, therefore plays an integral role in the construct of social situations. Although Malinowski's original description was of monolingual speakers, it is possible to extend his description to include individuals

with linguistic repertoires which include more than one language. Bilinguals may select their mode, register or language choice from any of the languages which they speak and understand.

Malinowski's concept of context of situation has been developed and elaborated by Firth. Central to the Firthian view is the *actual language text* (Firth, 1968:173) which has two central tenets. The first is that text should be considered as a constituent part of the context of its situation and the second is that a text:

should be related to an observable and justifiable grouped set
of events in the run of experience.

Firth (1968:175)

In an expanded description of the first tenet, Firth describes meaning as being created at two complementary levels, the contextual and the linguistic. Therefore, the initial step in the study of a text is to establish situational relations. Firth describes how a text is a constituent feature of the context in which it occurs. His description comprises categories which function in the context of a given situation. For example he establishes the situational relations of:

- 1) who the participants are
- 2) what the relevant objects and events are and
- 3) what effect verbal interaction has.

Once these contextual questions have been addressed, then the analysis of a specific text can begin. Firth suggests that step-by-step analyses are essential because the meanings of texts, utterances and words 'cannot be achieved at one fell swoop by one analysis at one level' Firth (1968:27).

It is important to note that the study of the relations between contextual categories and language is regarded by Firth as the study of semantics (1968:27). Firthian levels have been interpreted in a number of ways. However, there is consensus regarding at least one aspect, namely that the order of the analyses matters less than the agreement that all levels will be included in the analysis. Firth likens the meanings gleaned from the various levels of analysis to the 'light of mixed wavelengths in the spectrum' (1968:174) and only multiple analyses of texts capture this dispersion. To continue with Firth's metaphor, each level of analysis is seen as shedding light on the meaning of the text. Hence the study presented here will include a number of different levels of descriptive analysis.

Firth's (1968:200) linguistic analysis recognises two general theoretical relations, syntagmatic and paradigmatic. The syntagmatic relations specify how meanings in texts are composed by language forms or structures and are realised at various levels (for example, phonological, syntactic, lexical etc). The paradigmatic relations are established between features of the systems which specify the values of the elements within the structures. In this study, the syntagmatic relations will be addressed in Chapters 9 and 10, which describe language use; while the paradigmatic relations will be addressed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Firth's second central tenet is the concept of renewal. His view is that when individuals are involved in a social event they are realising a social process linguistically. They are behaving as members of their speech community. They are able to relate the on-going text in which they are participants to previous texts which they have already experienced, either as observers or as active participants. Any current text under negotiation, renews the connection with the linguistic events of similar situational contexts, within a given speech community. (This notion has been developed by de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981 as 'intertextuality'). This concept of typeness is important for children when they are being socialised into their first or

subsequent culture. Social encounters are therefore viewed as social processes which unfold as generic structures, step-by-step, each element contributing to the nature and function of the social process which it is creating. The similarity of contexts for texts can be used by individuals as a method of recognising and classifying text types. Once a text renews connection with other texts, it can be linguistically stated as a text of a similar or dissimilar type. In this way individuals can learn to behave linguistically appropriately in a range of contexts. The ways in which individuals anticipate social events (or indeed other people and their behaviour) in terms of previous experiences of similar contexts, events and situations, has been described by Bartlett (1932) as *schemata* and by Tannen (1979) as *structures of expectation*.

4.2.1 The Hallidayan Description of Language as Socio-Semiotic

The Malinowskian-Firthian tradition establishes the study of language as social interaction and communication within heterogeneous speech communities. Continuing in this tradition Halliday (1973 & 1975), proposed that discourse is semantic choice in social contexts. His view of language extends beyond an individual's language production, to a description of language as social fact. In 1978 Halliday proposed the formulation of language as socio-semiotic. Rooted in the linguistics of Malinowski and Firth, language as socio-semiotic presents language as functioning as an expression of and metaphor for, the social processes which it creates and the social contexts in which it occurs. Inherent in the socio-semiotic approach to language description is the notion of language as a dynamic process. Hence, a whole range of modes of meaning are possible (from the concrete to the creative) because language not only facilitates everyday social encounters and supports social action, but it actually creates those contexts.

A socio-semiotic description accounts for the fact that people talk to each other and that language is not sentences but is discourse, that is, naturally occurring interactive connected exchanges which allow for an exchange of meaning in interpersonal

contexts and contacts. The contexts where meanings are exchanged cannot therefore be devoid of social or personal values. Contexts cannot be value free. Language cannot be context free. Therefore, language cannot be value free. The context of speech becomes a semiotic structure, taking its form from the culture (or sub-culture) in which it occurs, embracing its mores and values. This form enables the participants to predict prevailing features of the register. Each society and its sub groups, has its own underlying rules which govern acts of communication within its speech community. These rules, for appropriate linguistic behaviour, are learned. Learning a new language is learning how to behave linguistically in a new culture. Learning a first (or subsequent) language requires understanding how everyday social encounters are organised linguistically in that speech community. Thus, individuals who have successfully learned the rules are able to present themselves as members of that (speech) community.

The linguistic tradition as established by Malinowski and Firth and developed by Halliday later became known as *British Contextualism* and *Systemic Linguistics*. The basic theoretical principles and development of this tradition are well documented. The most comprehensive accounts can be found in Hasan (1985); Kachru (1980); Kress (1976); Mitchell (1975); Monaghan (1979); and Robins (1971).

This section has outlined some of the main tenets of Firthian and Neo-Firthian linguistics with regard to meaning as a socially constructed activity. The accounts support the view that a descriptive account of context is integral to linguistic descriptions, and that language as social semiotic describes discourse as semantic choice made by speakers (or discourse participants) to create social contexts.

4.2.2 Language as Socio-Semiotic : The Implications

Central to the Hallidayan linguistic description of language as socio-semiotic is the notion of language as a dynamic process which not only facilitates social encounters

and supports social action but which actually creates those social contexts. Semiotically speaking all social contexts consist of a construct of potential meanings. A socio-semiotic description of a social context needs to account for the social fact that people speak to each other, not in sentences but in naturally occurring, interactive, connected exchanges (discourse). Discourse allows for an exchange of meanings in interpersonal contacts in social contexts. Discourse creates the social context and thus creates the potential for individuals to exchange meanings and create personal encounters. The socio-semiotic description of language use therefore allows for language to create social contexts and personal encounters.

Language as socio-semiotic accounts for the social context of language use. However, there is a further dimension to language use in social contexts which accounts for individuals' behaviour. This behaviour, termed in Hymes' (1972b) taxonomy as communicative competence, accounts for individuals knowing when to speak, when not to, what to talk about and with whom, when, where and in what manner to interact. To accept both Halliday's description of language as socio-semiotic and Hymes' notion of communicative competence allows for the possibility that each individual can play an instrumental role in constructing a social context and construing meaning from that (and every other) social context. Thus, individual discourse participants are potentially empowered in social contexts, with discourse rights. Discourse rights can be realised as social rights. This potential is an important dimension to a social situation where one or more of the discourse participants are, for example, children and are thus not accorded social status, or when they represent a linguistic minority in a given context.

4.3 Critics of Systemic Linguistics

Sampson (1980: Chapter 9) presents a balanced overview of systemic description of language. He identifies specific aspects of the approach that are problematic, for

example Firth's claim that phonological choices have direct semantic correlates, and Halliday's notion of 'rank' and 'delicacy' in syntactic structures (Sampson, 1980:232). However, he admits:

Halliday's version is at present by far the best known ... in my view, the most attractive version of the theory.

Sampson (1980:232)

However, Sampson further suggests that:

the major difficulty in systemic grammar, for one who cares about the methodological issues ... concerns the essential role that intuition appears to play in systemic analysis ... The question whether or not certain constructions express different cases of a single semantic category and therefore belong together in one system ... may be unavoidably an intuitive decision, in which case systemic grammar cannot hope to rank as a science. But then, neither can sociology.

Sampson (1980:234)

Despite these stated reservations the Hallidayan and systemic descriptions of language are now well respected by a range of different research communities, including modern linguists (eg Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975); educationalists (eg Stubbs, 1986) and social psychologists (eg Wells & Montgomery, 1981). It should be noted that many revisions and refinements to the descriptive frameworks have taken place (and are still under active review) since the early descriptions.

4.4 Other Descriptions of Child Language Development

In addition to the Hallidayan description, there are other established descriptions of child language development. The systemic approach can be contrasted with the Chomskyan approach to grammar. The focus of Chomsky's (1968) work is the generic syntactic structures of different languages. The explicitly stated goal of his theory of universal grammar was to define the logic of language acquisition. He defines this linguistic competence as the deep-seated mental state that exists below the

level of conscious language use by which even young children are allowed to generate a large set of utterances in their talk. He describes the emergence of grammatical structures as innately determined by the biological function of a *Language Acquisition Device* (LAD) which is intuitive and unique to human beings. Chomsky (1968) demonstrates mathematically that there exist well defined classes of morpheme sequences that cannot be generated by any constituency grammar, no matter how complex. It should however, be borne in mind, that Chomsky originally used language to demonstrate an individual's knowledge of systems and rules, the parameters and principles, the configurations of the mind which the structure of language (or grammar) simply serves as evidence. Too frequently this has been misunderstood or misrepresented as knowledge of the grammar system being a prerequisite for language learning. Chomsky's description does however, focus on the grammatical structures of the language as a means of demonstrating the ways in which young children learn one aspect of the 'rules of language'.

Chomsky's seminal description of child language is highly significant. However, it is not without its critics. Romaine (1984) presents an account of child language acquisition that stands in contrast to Chomsky's. By focusing on the sociolinguistic skills that young children must learn, Romaine (1984) describes the acquisition of communicative competence in child language development. Her approach emphasises the sociological aspects of language use, while Chomsky's focuses on psychological aspects. Romaine criticises Chomsky because:

he idealises the actual processes of language acquisition. He assumes that it takes place instantaneously. This allows him to ignore the intermediate states attained between the initial and steady state, the role of these intermediate states in determining what constitutes linguistic experience and other kinds of interactions that may be essential for the growth of language in the mind.

Romaine (1984:258)

Romaine (1984: Chapter 9) further criticises Chomsky's LAD because it views child language acquisition in terms of a progression through a series of more or less discrete stages, becoming increasingly closer to adult grammar until mature (adult) language use is achieved. This conceptualisation of child language acquisition has reinforced the Piagetian view of the child as a 'lone scientist' or 'mini-grammarians'. From the Chomskyan viewpoint, children's utterances are regarded as merely lesser, under-developed and simple versions of adult grammars. However, perhaps the most cogent support for an alternative to the existing Chomskyan descriptions can be found in Romaine (1989: Chapter 8) where she suggests that what is required is a comprehensive theory of language use. Ideally, this approach would integrate the social, communicative competence aspects of language use, with the Chomskyan, performance dimension.

When it came to the choice of descriptive framework for this study, it was not a choice between a right or a wrong one, it was more a question of an appropriate one. Frameworks have to be matched to specific aspects of the intended description. Chomsky's framework is appropriate for some psychological aspects of language behaviour, while the systemic linguists offer an approach more compatible with social aspects of language use. Margaret Berry (1975) in her introduction to systemic theory makes a pertinent point with which I feel empathy. She writes:

while Chomskyan linguistics appeals to the psychologist,
systemic linguistics is more relevant for the sociologist.
Berry (1975:23)

Hence for the purposes of this study it was decided that a description of language that emphasised the social functions provides a better complement to Vygotsky's theories of young children learning and a description of bilingualism that emphasises the social aspects of language behaviour for individuals who can speak more than one language. The latter framework is outlined in the next section.

4.5 A Social Construct of Bilingualism

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller begin their description of bilingualism by outlining some objections to Barth's (1969) traditional proposition that 'a race = a culture = a language' on the grounds that it is misleading (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:234-249). Their account of bilingualism includes the social context of language use in significant ways. They prefer to view individual linguistic behaviour as an *act of identity*. This approach contrasts with other variationist studies (eg Weinreich, 1953) where the languages spoken have been the object of theoretical and descriptive studies or the psychological approaches to individual bilingualism (eg Cummins, 1983). The description of bilingualism as the speaker's act of identity emphasises the important relationship between language use, social network structure and ethnic identity.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) description of bilingualism as an act of identity has its origins in the hypothesis (and its four caveats) that Le Page formulated to describe the Creoles of the Caribbean:

the individual creates his system of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the group or groups with which he wishes from time to time to be identified, to the extent that:

- (a) he is able to identify these groups
- (b) his motives are sufficiently clear cut and powerful
- (c) his opportunities for learning are adequate
- (d) his ability to learn - that is, to change his habits where necessary - is unimpaired.

Le Page (1968:192)

In order to understand this fully, it is essential to consider it in connection with the metaphor of projection, focusing and diffusion, which Le Page (1978:80) uses to describe verbal activity. The terminology is borrowed from the cinema, not from psychology. It is the metaphor on which their description of bilingualism as an act of identity is based.

As an individual speaks s/he is always seen as using language with reference to the inner models of the universe s/he has constructed for her/himself, s/he projects in words, images of the universe ... on the social screen ... as s/he speaks s/he is inviting others to share ... views of the universe (even if that means agreeing to keep out of it!), the feedback s/he gets may lead ... to focus on his/her own image more sharply, and may also lead him/her to bring his/her own universes more into focus with those projected by others. A fresh contact, a fresh point of view, may on the other hand for a time at least make the projection more diffuse.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116)

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) describe *focusing* to mean greater regularity in the linguistic code with less variability and *diffusion* to mean the opposite.

This view presents language as a repertoire of socially constructed, socially bound and socially marked systems. Each time the individual speaks they present to the world their view of it. This reinforces closeness to or distance from the interlocutor's view of the world. In this way speakers through discourse and social interactions, make value statements about their self-perceived identity.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) developed their multidimensional description of bilingualism as the result of thirty years' work on the use of English in contact situations in the post-colonial British empire. The term multidimensional is used to include what they call 'the psychological and social aspects of pluri-lingualism' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:01). Their description seems particularly appropriate to the study presented here because it shares a central concern of:

the problems of helping children growing up in multilingual communities to profit best from the educational opportunities available to them - and of helping to improve those opportunities and the understanding of teachers.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:01)

Central to their description of bilingualism is the belief that bilingual behaviour is normal rather than idiosyncratic behaviour. They share the Hallidayan view that language is dynamic and that it comes into being together with those who speak it through interpersonal behaviour or acts of identity which individuals make within themselves and with each other.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller view the individual as the locus of language use and describe bilingualism as an act of identity. However, they acknowledge that individual speakers are influenced by other speakers during interactions and that they in turn may influence others:

a group is any perceived cluster of two or more individuals. Language, however, in use by individuals, is the instrument through which, by means of individual adjustments in response to feedback, both *languages* and *groups* may become more highly focused in the sense that the behaviour of members of a group may become more alike.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116)

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) use the term 'identify' to have two meanings. In the one sense, identify means 'to pick out as a particular person, category or example' by some idiosyncratic feature, while in the other sense it means 'to recognise some entity as a part of some larger group' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:02). This symbiotic relationship permits an individual's idiosyncratic behaviour to reflect attitudes towards groups, while being constrained by certain boundary markers. Language can be a boundary marker, reinforcing the identity of 'self' against 'others' but this is not necessarily a prerequisite for group membership (Byram, 1990:85). Other features have been identified by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:209). These include physical features of ethnic identity, like jewellery, hairstyle and dress. Ethnic identity makers need not always be so obvious. Byram (1990:85) identifies 'return to the homeland' as an aspiration or psychological marker of some immigrant

groups. The concept of identity embedded in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's use of the word 'identity' reinforces the view that an individual's language use or act of identity is idiosyncratic behaviour that reflects their attitudes towards groups, causes and traditions. The identity of a particular group exists only within the projections individuals make about the group. Language, communities, groups have no independent existence. They depend upon individuals. This view of ethnic group stands very much in contrast to the definition offered by Giles (1979:253) as 'those individuals who perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category', and that is 'usually only in formal, institutionalised settings that members of different ethnic groups encounter one another' (Giles, 1979:255-6). The multilingual state of present day Britain means that people meet in a variety of contact situations, some formal and institutionalised for example, schools and others not, for example, inter-ethnic households.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller stress that in description of bilingualism groups, communities and their linguistic attributes have no independent existence other than in the minds of individuals and that they inhere only in the way individuals behave towards each other (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:05). This is compatible with the Hallidayan description of language as a socio-semiotic, or as it is sometimes referred to as language as social behaviour and social organisation.

Accepting Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's description of bilingualism together with Halliday's description of language use poses certain problems for the researcher. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller assert:

that it is extremely hard to carry out sociolinguistic work in a rigorously hypothesis-testing manner when one comes to a society as an outsider and tries, ... to make no prior assumptions about the social divisions within that society ... the class assumptions which underlie the work of ... Labov in New York or Trudgill in Norwich do not apply.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:04)

Their descriptions of language use focus on the social processes by which individuals locate themselves within multidimensional space or the social universe as each perceives it, and the focusing or diffusion of the role-system by which they define their positions in relation to each other, and through which they provide the conceptual foundation for 'language', 'group' and 'community'. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's description is based on the notion of groups which individual speakers perceive to exist. They hypothesise that individuals create systems from language so that they may resemble those of the group with which from time to time they may wish to identify. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's description of language use is compatible with and reinforces the Hallidayan view that language 'does not exist in the abstract but is created in the context of social interaction between speakers, and different varieties, dialects and languages often do not have clear cut boundaries at all.

Language use is therefore an explicit statement of an individual's self-perceived identity. Identity can operate on a number of levels. It can relate to affiliation with a number of non-linguistic variables, including age, gender, geographical region, or membership of an ethnic, social, or religious group. An individual's particular language choice in a given social situation will be open to such extraneous factors. These will not necessarily remain constant. However, the ability to perform a linguistic act of identity will always be dependent upon the language varieties (idelect, accents, dialects and languages) available to an individual in the personal linguistic repertoire. Neither the external factors, nor the individual's linguistic repertoire, both of which can influence an individual's language choice will remain constant. Depending upon the constraining and enabling factors previously discussed, an individual may elect to perform acts of identity which make statements about their age, gender, religion, social status, cultural or ethnic identity. The force of the statement will depend in part upon the individual's communicative competence and in part, upon the competence of their audience to comprehend their act(s).

By combining the works of Vygotsky, Halliday and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller it is possible to build a view of thinking and language use as social processes and to view language as simultaneously forming and reflecting experiences from the earliest stages of childhood. The child first learns how to communicate using one or more languages and then develops that communicative competence to participate in the special discourses that society has created. In the case of a child who is learning to be bilingual s/he is simultaneously learning parallel ways of behaving and communicating effectively in the discourses of two (or more) different communities.

All three theoretical frameworks presented here are about social constructs. That is, they have no existence beyond the environment which they create and through which they are constructed. Language and social groups, or networks, are created by people. Individual's language creates social behaviour. Interaction between individuals creates groups or networks. The individual is the locus of these social constructs. Together these three descriptions of language use provide a description of social behaviour which approximates closely to the reality, an evolving, dynamic state, created by those who perceive it as necessary and which has no independent existence beyond its social function.

The underlying assumptions of these combined theoretical frameworks are:

- i) the idea of language as a vehicle for learning
- ii) modes of thinking as social processes
- iii) patterns of language use as processes that create social contexts.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented three descriptive models: Halliday's description of language as socio-semiotic which presents language as social behaviour; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's description of bilingualism as an act of identity and Vygotsky's

view of language as a sign symbol, a tool for thought. Together they form the theoretical foundation for this ethnolinguistic analysis.

These three frameworks are of course not the only ones to influence this study. The following chapters will include details of other influences that have contributed to the design of the research project and the subsequent data analysis.

CHAPTER 5

THE BOX HILL NURSERY PROJECT

At least we can claim that our way of looking at things derives from close contact with the data. It may be, of course, that we have developed a squint.

R. B. Le Page & Andrée Tabouret-Keller
Acts of Identity 1985:x

CHAPTER 5 - THE BOX HILL NURSERY PROJECT

In respect of confidentiality, the privacy of individuals and in accordance with the conventions established within ethnographic studies all names, people and places used in this study are pseudonyms.

5.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with a consideration of research methods and techniques for data collection suitable for an investigation of the language and social behaviour of young bilingual children. A framework for ethnolinguistic description is proposed and the final design of the Box Hill Nursery Project is outlined.

5.1 Rationale for the Study

The aim of the project is to describe the language and social behaviour of a group of children during their first term in formal schooling in the contact situation of the nursery school where they constitute a linguistic minority. It draws from the three established theoretical paradigms previously outlined in detail in Chapter 4.

The rationale for the study is to respond to Mullard's (1984) call for data to illuminate the debate on the ethnolinguistic behaviour of bilingual children during the initial phase of the secondary sociolinguistic enculturation and Martin-Jones' (in press) suggestion that smaller scale ethnolinguistic studies which supplement the findings of larger scale surveys are an urgent priority if we are to understand patterns of language use in bilingual communities well enough to inform social and educational policy. The scale of the study has been influenced by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) view that the individual remains the locus of bilingualism within the community. The primary interest is in individual speakers' language behaviour as a means of gaining insights into their enculturation into the nursery school.

Support for the nursery school as an appropriate locus for the study can be found from a number of sources. Fishman (1989:419) states the view that ethnicity is a major component of mainstream education, particularly at the early levels because it acts as an agent of the socialisation process. Mullard (1984:50-51) identifies the pre-school nursery as the most important and yet most difficult institution in which to address the needs of black ethnic minority children, in terms of nurturing their ethnic identity. He emphasises, that to date, no research findings exist to illuminate the debate on the impact of school on the formation and development of ethnic identity among black children in British schools. Heller (1988) addresses the role of language in the formation of ethnic group boundaries and acknowledges that: 'there has in fact been very little work done in this area'. She cites work done in Africa (Scotton, 1976) and her own work in Ontario and Quebec (Heller, 1984). However, in England to date, there have been few studies of children of the age included in this sample. There are some studies of children in nursery school. These include Moffatt's (1989) observational study of children becoming bilingual in the nursery school and Spann's (1988) study of codeswitching in nursery age children. Both of these studies however, differ in research design, methodology and focus from the study reported here. Further support for this particular project can be found in Muysken (1990:27-28) who observes that Panjabi-English is a language pair not investigated to date.

A summary of previous studies of bilingual learners in various classroom settings is presented in Table 5.1.

Author	Year	Age of subjects	Setting	Languages	Focus
Wong-Fillmore	1976	Kindergarteners	Kindergarten	Spanish-English	Personality Traits
Strong	1983	Kindergarteners	Bilingual Classroom	Spanish-English	Individual's Social Styles
Heller	1982	Grades 7 & 8	Secondary school	French-English	Language use
Willes	1983	5 yrs	Reception Class	English	Socialisation
Spann	1988	Nursery	Nursery	Panjabi-English	Codeswitching
Agnihotri	1979	10-11 yrs	Primary School	Sikh Panjabi-English	Assimilation Process
Moffatt	1989	Nursery	Nursery	Panjabi-English	Codeswitching

Table 5.1 Summary of Previous Research

Previous research includes studies of children of the same age: Moffatt (1989); Strong (1983); Spann (1988) and Wong-Fillmore (1976) but they do not focus specifically on their secondary socialisation. Agnihotri's (1979) study does address the process of assimilation as experienced by Sikh children in Britain but the children in his study were older. Willes' (1983) study focuses on the secondary socialisation of five year old children into mainstream schooling but the children in her sample were all monolingual. Indeed, she specifically omits bilinguals from her study. So although a number of studies have been completed, it can be seen from the overview that there is a paucity of British based research into the secondary socialisation of bilingual children at the point of transition from home into the nursery school.

The nursery school is an important stage in the life of a young child for a number of reasons. It is at the transition from the home environment to a new social context where a range of learning takes place. Children are required to learn behaviour appropriate to their new context. They learn how to be pupils (Willes, 1983). Being a pupil places new linguistic demands on children. Cummins (1984) suggests that speakers need two different types of language, Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and a more specialised, Cognitive Academic Language Ability (CALP). The latter, CALP, is associated with academic achievement and school success. This is a view that concurs with Donaldson (1978) who suggests that the 'embedded language' demands of classrooms require a greater degree of metalinguistic awareness from young children. She maintains that it is those children who have a more highly developed metalinguistic awareness who achieve most in formal school learning. Tizard et al (1988) in their study of young children in inner city schools, found that children who possess a high degree of metalinguistic awareness in the nursery and early years of school, were those who were good readers at the end of the infant schooling (Key Stage 1). These research findings suggest therefore that classrooms place linguistic demands on young learners and that nursery education can lay the foundation for their future academic achievement.

In the nursery children are learning to become sociable, to interact with a wider range of individuals, both adults and children, some of whom may be familiar and some hitherto, unknown. Even those who are familiar to the young child may present a challenge of a different kind. Familiar individuals, ascribed different roles in new settings will behave in different ways, using different language codes or registers. All of these factors may confound rather than confirm previous experience and learning.

When the child is moving from a home where the language of communication is different from that of the school they are also learning to be bilingual. At the transition from home to school, in addition to the new range of learning experiences

and new social encounters, the child may also be required to learn a new language. Learning to be bilingual imposes extra learning demands on the child. Becoming bilingual requires learning to be a member of a new culture. It entails learning new ways of behaving, new values and a different view of oneself, one's world and the people who do or who do not share it. In learning to be bilingual and bicultural in mainstream schooling, a child will encounter many new experiences, including maybe their first experience of being a member of a linguistic minority group. This is an extra dimension to the secondary socialisation process experienced by bilingual children. It could have an isolating impact on the child. This experience may have subsequent repercussions upon the individual's developing sense of ethnic identity and self-esteem. It will certainly mean that the isolated child who finds themselves as a minority of one, is bereft of appropriate role models able to provide suitable patterns of pupil behaviour. For the bilingual child the transition from home to school requires secondary socialisation into a new sociolinguistic context, which may confound rather than reinforce or confirm their existing sense of ethnolinguistic identity. The child will learn to interact with a wider network of adults and peers, of same and different linguistic speech communities from their own. The effect of the transition on individual children, bilingual or monolingual, remains under-researched.

5.2 A Discussion of Research Methods

Pre-school classrooms have not been understood in anthropological terms. Research in primary school classrooms (Bennett, 1976; Sylva et al 1980; Tizard et al, 1988) has focused on the 'learning' and 'teaching' activities which takes place there. Emphasis has been on knowledge or content of lessons and the teacher's knowledge-base for teaching has been presumed to be an index of the quality of the learning (Alexander et al, 1992, and The Kingman Report, DES, 1988). However, Mehan (1978) has suggested that social organisation may be more influential than an individual's learning ability in the development of language, cognition and social competence.

Despite this, little research interest has been paid to how children develop in different social contexts. Ethnography may offer a descriptive perspective on the understanding of early educational settings and the experiences of children within those settings.

5.2.1 Case Study as a Research Method

Case study as a research method exerts acknowledged limitations but it is considered suitable for this project. There is precedent for the choice, namely Heller's (1984) study of *Language and Ethnic Identity in a Toronto French-Language School*. Using case study methodology requires consideration of reliability. External reliability of the research is concerned with whether or not the same constructs would be generated by different researchers in this or similar settings. Internal reliability addresses the former and is concerned with whether the constructs presented would be generated by other researchers given access to the same data and circumstances. Ethnographic studies are conducted in natural social settings, thus rendering replication highly unlikely. Much is determined by unique circumstances and by the individual and collective personalities involved in this specific context at a given time. This study is different (from previous studies) only in that it attempts a description of children learning to adapt to the new cultural context of the nursery school setting. The diminished likelihood of replication is an established concern for all ethnographers. It is not unique to this study nor should it render ethnography less significant as research reports.

The essential defining characteristic of ethnographic fieldwork procedures are that they are designed to overcome the researcher's bias and that they are grounded in the investigation of communication and other phenomena in natural contexts. The criterion for *descriptive adequacy* (Saville-Troike, 1982:119) is that sufficient data should be collected to provide a description which would enable someone from outside the particular speech community under observation, and who was not present during the periods of data collection, to fully understand the event and the

participants' behaviour. It is also considered important that the ethnographic account be accepted as *bona fide* by members of the observed community and particularly the participants themselves, where this is possible.

The alternative to an ethnographic study is to contrive a highly controlled situation. Bruner & Haste (1987:02) outline an alternative approach to the study of young children learning to cope with new or unfamiliar material with little or no previous experience. It is based on Donaldson's (1978) criticisms of Piaget's experiments that contrived situations can have a negative impact on the child and cause them to underperform rather than demonstrate their true capabilities. Bruner suggests that his more naturalistic approach is in keeping with the Piagetian view of the child as a little scientist, independently interpreting the world as an individual. The more recent emphasis on the child as a social being, places the child in a normally complex situation and then observes the child's efforts to cope and to assign an interpretation to that situation. Contextual data on the situation in which the child is being observed is an important dimension to this approach. Geertz (1975) terms this contextual data 'thick' data. Since the contextual data form a central contribution to the project and the subsequent interpretation of the behaviours observed, it is perhaps pertinent to outline Geertz's view of culture and the complementary perspective his approach offers to the Hallidayan view of language as social semiotic.

5.2.2 Geertz's Thick, Contextual Data

The anthropologist Geertz presents a view of cultures that he describes as 'an assemblage of texts' (Geertz, 1975:452). In common with systemic linguists, he views texts as 'an extension of the notion of a text beyond written materials' and states that 'cultural forms can be treated as texts, as imaginative works built out of social materials' (Geertz, 1975:449). He adopts this approach in his analysis of the cultural form of a Balinese cockfight about which he writes:

to treat the cockfight as a text is to bring out the cultural form ... the central feature of it ... that treating it as a rite or a pastime, the two most obvious alternatives, would tend to obscure: it's use of emotion for cognitive ends.

Geertz (1975:449)

Geertz presents his view of culture in the following statement:

the concept of culture I espouse ... is essentially a semiotic one ... believing that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he has spun himself, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one, in search of meaning.

Geertz (1975:05)

In the essay *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1975) Geertz says that thick description is what ethnographers do. Dissatisfied with merely describing the objective, physical behaviour of human beings (the thin description), ethnographers place greater emphasis on context and detail in order to grasp and set down the meanings of human acts. Geertz suggests that the ethnographer is trying to describe 'structures of significance'. For him culture consists of 'webs of significance' (Geertz, 1975:05), a 'stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures' (Geertz, 1975:07); an 'interworked system of constructable signs or symbols' (Geertz, 1975:14). In order to interpret observed behaviours the ethnographer must write it down. This *inscription* is the thick description. One method for obtaining thick, contextual data is through participant observation.

5.2.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation is established within ethnographic research. It enables the researcher to observe patterned cultural behaviour when immersed in the context in which it occurs. Milroy (1980) suggests that successful participant observation

requires 'passing oneself off' as a member of the observed community. In order to do this the researcher needs to leave behind previous cultural experience and acquire the norms and values of the observed community. However desirable this may be it is not so easy for the researcher to achieve. Cultural values are not always consciously held. Individuals are rarely aware of their permeating existence and insidious influence. The unconscious nature of cultural experiences and their inherent values makes it very difficult for a person to 'leave them behind' as Milroy suggests. A conscious effort can be made however to extend personal experiences into a new community.

There are however other views that contrast with Milroy's. Becker (1963) suggests that there are advantages to the researcher not being a member of the community under investigation. He suggests that it is possible for an outsider to act naively and ask questions or for classifications that an insider would be expected to know. He suggests that it is possible for an outsider to elicit more knowledge from the informants in a more naturalistic manner.

Despite her advocacy of the approach, Milroy acknowledges the dilemma faced by ethnographers who are trying to infiltrate a community. She acknowledges that the fieldworker may remain *an outsider* to some contexts. This is particularly true if the ethnographic study is attempting to describe the cultural and linguistic behaviours of a community without prior knowledge. (This was the experience of the researcher reporting here). Saville-Troike cautions the ethnographer on the academic and professional responsibilities associated with fieldwork:

the ethnographer should not be 'taking' data without returning something of immediate usefulness to the community

Saville-Troike (1982: 121-122).

Potential problems for participant observers include how to introduce oneself to the host community, what information to reveal about oneself and one's purposes and

what role to assume in the community during the period of observation. In the case of the Box Hill Nursery Project, the role of the teacher was a feasible one for the researcher to assume. However, adults are precluded from child activities for a variety of reasons. In this study it would not have been feasible for the researcher to act convincingly as a member of the observed community, partly on the grounds of language but more significantly as an outsider to the child group. Other factors preventing successful assimilation into the observed group include markers of ethnic identity described by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985:209). These will be referred to in detail in the discussion and analysis of data in Chapter 8.

However, a white researcher can play a convincing role as a teacher in a child community and this was the role adopted by the researcher for the purpose of data collection. It is also a role familiar to the researcher and one which it was felt could be played authentically. Saville-Troike endorses the need for the researcher to be on partly familiar territory. She states that:

ethnographers must first of all understand their own culture, and the effects it has on their own behaviour, if they are to succeed in participant-observation in another.

Saville-Troike (1982: 122)

The idea central to participant observation is that the researcher is able to enter into various speech events relatively unobtrusively as a participant with whom other participants can feel comfortable. Saville-Troike (1982:122) recommends a high level of linguistic and cultural competence as a *sine qua non* and that there should be a shared linguistic and cultural competence between the fieldworker and the observed community. As a complement, I should like to suggest that a *professional competence* may replace these as genuine grounds for a researcher being present. For example, a researcher who is a qualified teacher and shares a common concern with the other professionals in the setting. The researcher may be able to offer professional

assistance and operate in the research setting in a professional capacity alongside other professionals. This does not of course compensate for any lack of linguistic competence but it can help to justify a presence.

There is also precedent established for the observer not being linguistically proficient in the language of the observed community (Kibrik, 1977).

Finally, Whiting & Whiting advise ethnographers:

not to embark on systematic observation which is laborious and time consuming, unless they are convinced that informants cannot report their own behaviour or the behaviour of others reliably.

Whiting & Whiting (1975: 312)

This comment is pertinent to the children in the Box Hill Nursery Project who are considered too young to undertake this task meaningfully. Older members of the Mirpuri community were consulted and involved in the data analysis and interpretation stages of the project.

There are therefore a number of perceived advantages to participant observation as a research method for the collection of linguistic data. Milroy (1987:78) considers the major advantage to be the high quality of the naturally occurring language which it yields. She also maintains that it is capable of providing insights into the social and communicative norms of the community under observation. This view is supported by Labov who suggests that it is through:

deeper studies of groups and social networks that we gain the possibility of explaining linguistic behaviour.

Labov (1981:25)

The data collected provide complementary aspects of the nursery setting and the informants. They combine to provide a description of the ways in which the informants were learning to be *communicatively competent* in their new social context.

5.2.3.1 The Observer's Paradox and The Sociolinguist's Dilemma

The advantages associated with participant observation have to be considered alongside critical comment. Sociolinguistic research has often been criticised because of the methodological framework in which it is set. Claims that the data are unreliable and the analyses invalid have stemmed in part from the observation that the researcher exerts an undue (and hence distorting) influence on the informants who provide the data, on the data which is gathered and on the subsequent analyses. The effect of the researcher on the phenomenon under investigation is a fundamental philosophical problem in the social sciences. It is referred to as *The Observer's Paradox*.

It was Labov (1972:113) who formulated the Observer's Paradox with special reference to the sociolinguist. Labov's (1972) claim is that the most consistent and natural data for sociolinguistic analysis are the vernacular, or casual speech. This naturally occurring language is not easily elicited in interview situations where its use would be inappropriate and hence unnatural. Since Labov's claim many sociolinguistics have put great emphasis on obtaining samples of the vernacular speech. In order to achieve this the researcher needs to inhabit the social world of the informants:

to obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed.

Labov (1972:113)

This is the observer's paradox.

Labov (1972) and his colleagues adopted several important and interrelated procedures to overcome this paradox. They made radical departures from the established face-to-face interview technique for collecting linguistic data. The aim was to move away from the social roles of interviewer and interviewee and hence the asymmetrical power relationships and values which these roles implicitly encoded. Labov et al focused on interacting groups rather than individuals. This had the effect of the informants outnumbering the interviewer and going some way towards redressing the power imbalance of the situation. Researchers joined informants for social sessions for example eating, drinking, during the data collection periods. The focus on group rather than individual provided an opportunity to observe group dynamics and access more authentic use of the vernacular (casual speech).

The observer's paradox is of paramount concern to researchers eliciting data from very young informants. There are other facets to this paradox which I shall term the *Sociolinguist's Dilemma*. Milroy (1980) warns of the possibility that the researcher can be an outsider to some social contexts under investigation. This can be seen as particularly true of the classroom situation where an adult is marked as an outsider in a number of ways. An adult is marked by age as an outsider to child groups and as a result may exert undue influence, particularly because of the asymmetrical power relations which exist between children and adults, a phenomenon which is compounded when the adult also enjoys the status of teacher. The power imbalance is further accentuated when the adult and child belong to different ethnic groups.

The presence of a white adult (researcher or teacher) in the black child culture of the classroom is one more facet to the observer's paradox. While it is an undeniable factor, this should not however, deny the value of the white adult view of the black child-world of the classroom and the description of the child's experiences within that context. Individuals will construct differently even those experiences which they share. Researchers however, should remain sensitive to the effects which their

presence may impose on their informants and hence the data and subsequent interpretation.

In this study attempts have been made to minimise this influence and to render misinterpretation less likely. This has been achieved by involving the informants (both children and teachers) together with members of the Mirpuri community, in the data analysis and interpretative descriptions. The audio-recorded data was made available to informants who were present during the periods of observation. They were invited to comment upon the audio-recordings, transcriptions and codings. It was also made clear that sensitive information on the recordings could be erased from the tape and could be omitted from the transcripts if requested. However, no such requests were received.

5.2.4 Issues Relating to the Collection of Discourse Data

The research methods used acknowledge the arguments made by linguistic researchers (as reported in Stubbs, 1983) for the need to combine different methods as a means of providing cross-validation and of overcoming the difficulties of matching a single research method to the measurement of 'a single pure parameter' of human language behaviour. The selected methods also meet Stubbs' call for a principled approach based on pure analytical rigour. The research methodologies are explicitly stated and attempts are made to make all of the data accessible for scrutiny by others, at all stages of analysis. There are however acknowledged constraints in making unedited, audio-taped recordings (the raw discourse data) freely available as a resource to all. For reasons relating to the sensitivity of content (for example inter-group conflicts of a racist nature and other individual anti-social behaviour), and identification of individual speakers, the original tape recordings will not be presented with the thesis. There is precedent for this, set by a similar sociolinguistic study of a small, easily identifiable community, Milroy's Belfast Study (1980).

Researchers will always face personal and professional ethical dilemmas. In sociolinguistic research (in common with other areas of social science) there is also the general issue of reconciling an academic interest with an ethical commitment to the observed group. This is particularly pertinent when the researcher is not a member of the group under observation. Smith (1985) presents a full (and very personal account) of some of the broad ethical issues which he feels are raised by white academic researchers studying poor non-white minority communities in Britain. The issues explored there are all compounded when the informants are young children.

While these issues relate specifically to the challenges presented by sociolinguistic research, there are also more general methodological issues which need consideration.

5.2.4.1 The Ethics of Candid Recordings

Collecting naturally occurring discourse data is considered important because it provides the researcher with access to the speaker's vernacular, described by Labov (1972:208) as the variety of speech adopted by a speaker when they are monitoring their speech style least closely. However, it is acknowledged that gaining access to the vernacular is neither easy nor free from controversy. Candid recordings do provide access but they also feed the controversy. Linguists are divided in their use and acceptance of it. Labov has rejected the practice on ethical grounds (a full discussion of which can be found in Milroy, 1987:88-93). He remarks that:

a hidden tape-recorder and a hidden microphone produce data
which is as dubious as the method itself.

Labov (1981:32)

Other linguists including Crystal & Davy (1969) and Milroy (1980) rely on candid recordings and surreptitious observations with some qualification and an accompanying discussion on ethics. Milroy endorses the method as necessary for theoretical advancement of sociolinguistic description. She states that:

the study of the vernacular speech of the individual in its everyday social context is an important task for sociolinguistics. Since most current models of communicative competence and language structure rest on a rather narrow base derived from relatively formal styles or relatively educated varieties, it is particularly important to obtain more information about the facts of specifically non-standard speech in a range of everyday contexts. Not to have such information is undesirable for practical as well as for theoretical reasons.

Milroy (1980:173)

Finally, Labov's general principle offers pragmatic guidance. He advises the researcher to:

avoid any act that would be difficult to explain if it became a public issue.

Labov (1981:33)

Collecting data in the classroom, a public domain, generally helps the researcher to respect this proviso. Individuals are being observed in a public setting which to some extent prohibits, or at least restricts, displays of very private behaviour. Usually, more prosaic concerns dominate, like the difficulties inherent in collecting high quality audio-recordings in noisy public arenas like classrooms.

The shortcomings of ethnographic studies are acknowledged. Despite this, it remains a research method chosen by a number of researchers, who consider its merits balance its shortcomings.

5.3 A Quantitative Paradigm for the Study of Communicative Competence

The focus of this study is the developing communicative competence of young bilingual children in a new social context. Sankoff (1980) outlines a quantitative paradigm for the study of communicative competence in which she suggests that it is the responsibility of the researcher to do the following:

1. To define the sampling universe, that is, at least roughly, the boundaries of the group or community, in which one is interested.
2. To assess the relevant dimension of variation within the community - this involves constructing stratification for the sample. Thus we must ask whether ethnic group, sex or social class of speaker might affect the kind of language used. Most studies so far have shown that to a very large extent they do.
3. To set the sample size.

The Box Hill Nursery Project is not designed as a quantitative research project. It attempts to combine quantitative with qualitative data in its description. However, in the planning, attempts have been made to meet Sankoff's three principles for the collection of socially sensitive data. The sampling universe is clearly defined. The community under investigation is defined as a homogeneous group of Urdu-Panjabi - English bilinguals. They are a homogeneous group of British born, ethnic Mirpuris, comprising both boys and girls, of similar age. They are observed in a consistent social context, the nursery school setting. The sample size was fixed from the outset of the study and was reduced (by natural factors) but not increased.

5.4 A Suggested Framework for Ethnolinguistic Descriptive Analysis

Bearing in mind the discussion of the previous sections, a suggested framework for ethnolinguistic descriptive analysis will be outlined. The framework addresses issues including, the role of the researcher in analysing ethnographic data and suggestions that the researcher may have a distorting influence on the data. A model that addresses three levels of descriptive analysis ranging from the macro level of the

contextual setting to the micro-level of individual informants' language behaviour will be proposed.

5.4.1 The Role of the Ethnographer

The primary task facing the ethnographer is to gather information, to capture the data. Ethnographers are primarily concerned with naturally occurring human behaviour. The focus is often aspects of human behaviour that are fleeting, momentary, sometimes too rapid even to be noticed. It is behaviour of which informants are themselves frequently unconscious. Yet if insights are to be gained, the data must be captured and be available for scrutiny and retrospective analysis. Human behaviour occurs in *real time*. The primary role of the ethnographer is to devise ways by which human behaviour can be captured and recorded for retrospective reflection. This of course poses difficulties and challenges.

There is a point when actual human behaviour, occurring in real time, is recorded and made available to others who were not present at the events which have been recorded. This is the point of transformation from naturalistic human behaviour to research data. It is the ethnographer who stages and manages this transformation. As the manager the ethnographer holds responsibility to two audiences. On the one hand the ethnographer must be held ultimately responsible for maintaining the authenticity of human behaviour that has been observed so that it remains recognisable to the original performers, while on the other hand, there is also a responsibility to provide rigorous data sets in a format which makes them both accessible and acceptable to a wider audience. The ethnographer has ethical loyalties to these two separate groups: the individuals observed, the informants, and the wider research community. Since ethnographers are engaged in describing acts of human behaviour it is quite likely that their investigations will also appeal to a much wider group, the general public.

The role of the ethnographer can therefore be described as comprising the following components:

- capturing naturalistic human behaviour
- transforming human behaviour into data sets
- analysing the data in terms of the perceptions and cultural values of the informants
- presenting insights that are acceptable and comprehensible both within and outside the observed community.

In order to achieve this, it is inevitable that the observed human behaviour will undergo some change and transformation. The data collected for the Box Hill Nursery Project, in the form of audio-taped recordings, thick contextual data and the field notes, all underwent these inevitable transformations in the process of becoming data sets. To meet Stubbs' (1983) call for analytical rigour in the studies of human language behaviour, the stages of the transformation from natural behaviour to data sets will be presented as a series of stages.

Criticisms of ethnography as a research method have included the claim that data undergoes distortion during the process of transformation. The following sections will outline a series of stages in the process and the potential for influence on the data will be explored at each stage in the transformation process.

5.4.2 Stage 1: Raw Data

The first stage in the transformation process is the collection of raw data. Raw data is the term used for the naturally occurring human behaviour that is observed in naturalistic settings. These data are recorded as candidly and as unobtrusively as permissible, given ethical constraints. Raw data come in the form of audio-taped recordings; thick contextual data recorded in the observation schedules and the

researcher's fieldnotes. In other ethnographic studies they may take different forms and may include for example, video-taped recordings.

5.4.3 Stage 2 Verbatim Transcripts

The second stage in the transformation process is the production of verbatim transcripts from the audio-taped recordings. These were compiled using the standard orthographic alphabet. There are a number of ways available for doing this. A full discussion of the approach adopted for this study will be presented in Chapter 9.

5.4.4 Stage 3: Coded Transcripts

At this stage features essential to the analysis and interpretation of the data are added to the verbatim transcripts. For this project, the transcripts have been coded with a number of features. These too will be described in full in Chapter 9.

A Suggested framework for Ethnolinguistic Descriptive Analysis:

- Stage 1** Raw Data: audio-taped recordings, observations, contextual data.
- Stage 2** Verbatim Transcripts
- Stage 3** Coded Transcripts
- Stage 4** Systematic Notation of Transcripts
- Stage 5** Establish a Computer Corpus of the Data
- Stage 6** Interpretation of Data
- Stage 7** Descriptions of Patterns of Behaviour, identifying generic structure(s)
- Stage 8** Insights, Implications and Applications

Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 present different levels of analysis which aim to describe the linguistic and social behaviour of these children during their first term in the nursery school. These descriptions range from the macro level of the context to the micro level of the ways in which individual informants use language. The levels are:

- Level 1** the way in which individual informants spend time on selected learning activities or tasks.
- Level 2** the social contexts created through discourse.
- Level 3** social network analysis is used to investigate the social dimension to time spent on tasks.
- Levels 4 & 5** describe the individual informant's language use for interactions within and beyond the social networks, this includes preferred language use and code-switching behaviour.

5.5 The Box Hill Nursery Project

The title of the project is derived from the name of the nursery school, the research site where the study was carried out. It has been named retrospectively. At the outset it was known as the Cleveland Project, named after the geographical region in the north-east of England.

The Box Hill Nursery project was designed in three phases:-

- Phase 1 The Preparatory Phase
- Phase 2 The Data Collection
- Phase 3 The Data Analysis

This is summarised diagrammatically in Figure 5.1.



PHASE 1 PREPARATION	
STAGE 1	IDENTIFYING THE SETTING
STAGE 2	NEGOTIATING WITH PROFESSIONALS
STAGE 3	HOME VISITS, PARENT INTERVIEWS, SELECTING PARTICIPANTS

PHASE 2 DATA COLLECTION	
	Collecting discourse data
	Contextual observations
	Continue interviews with families and professionals

PHASE 3 DATA ANALYSIS	
STAGE 1	RAW DATA Audio tape recordings, observations, field notes
STAGE 2	VERBATIM TRANSCRIPTS
STAGE 3	CODED TRANSCRIPTS Identifying participants, attributing turns
STAGE 4	MAPS OF LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHIES
STAGE 5	SOCIAL NETWORKS Coterie of significant others
STAGE 6	LANGUAGE USE within the social networks

Figure 5.1 An Overview of the Research Design

5.5.1 Stage One: Identifying the Research Site

The project began in January 1987. Following Milroy's advice, the first step was:

to select a community where speakers of the appropriate types
might be found.

Milroy (1987:28)

In this case, the first task was to identify a nursery school that had within its catchment area a significant number of bilingual children who were eligible for nursery education, and who were representative of one of the major community language groups in the UK. Other considerations were also considered important. A research site was sought which met a number of criteria:

- There should be a small (between six and ten) group of children representing one of the main settled ethnic minority communities in the UK.
- There should be both girls and boys in the group.
- The group should be a minority within the nursery.
- There should be both bilingual and monolingual adults working in the nursery on a routine basis.
- Community-school liaison links should be firmly established.
- The nursery unit should be within reasonable commuting distance from the University of Durham.

Through consultation with Local Education Authority (LEA) officers a number of potential establishments were identified and contact was made with a number of schools that met the stated criteria. Visits were made and discussions held with staff about the feasibility of their involvement in the project. Active involvement of nursery staff was considered important for the retrospective illumination of the data. It was acknowledged that this would make demands on teachers' time and other material

resources. Nursery staff were given time to consider the full implications of involvement with the project.

The research site eventually selected for the project was Box Hill Nursery school, a thirty-nine place purpose built nursery school, attached to a (then) Group 4 primary school, catering for children aged between three and eleven years. There were a number of nursery schools which were considered to be equally suitable. However, Box Hill was chosen because in addition to meeting all of the stated criteria the nursery staff were regular attenders at in-service training courses and as a result were informed and keen to be involved. The nursery, the children and staff were all previously unknown to the researcher. Milroy (1987:35) stresses the importance of identifying a pre-existing social group with which the researcher has no pre-existing personal ties. All of these factors combined to make Box Hill Nursery a suitable site.

5.5.2 Stage Two: Negotiating with the Professionals

For the sake of simplicity, the Headteacher, the teachers, the NNEB staff and the bilingual and monolingual classroom assistants will be referred to collectively as teachers. This is not done with the intention of undervaluing individual contributions. In the data transcripts, they will be coded as individuals. However, all of the adults working in the nursery were regarded by the pupils and their parents as teachers. This was the case irrespective of the formal qualifications they held or the period of training they had undertaken.

Staffing allocation to the nursery was one full-time Main Professional Grade (MPG) teacher who was the Head of the nursery; one full-time NNEB; a nursery assistant and the equivalent to one full-time bilingual classroom assistant. In practice this meant that two assistants worked on a weekly rota basis, dividing their time between the adjoining primary school and the nursery unit. Throughout the project the researcher was working in the nursery in the role of teacher. Professional credibility with

colleagues with whom she was be working was important. The researcher was a qualified infant teacher with fifteen years professional experience. It was agreed that she would work in the nursery on an occasional basis, for one term before the data collection began. This enabled her to become established a member of the community in a number of ways:

- i) she was enculturated into the nursery routines.
- ii) she established professional working relations with nursery staff.
- iii) she became known by families and within the local community.
- iv) she was able to trial and refine data collection techniques with the help of colleagues.

5.5.3 Stage Three: Home Visits and Family Interviews

There are ethical constraints upon researchers gathering data from young informants. Children are not in a position to make informed decisions about participating in research and their rights need to be safeguarded.

It was the established practice in the nursery unit to make home visits to potential pupils and their families before the child entered school. This familiarisation procedure provided the ideal opportunity for Stage 3 of the first phase of the project. Between April and June 1987, the researcher visited the homes of each of the bilingual children eligible to begin nursery school in September, 1987. During these visits the aims and procedures of the project were explained to families with the help of the bilingual classroom assistant acting as interpreter. To those who expressed an interest, a follow-up visit was made. During the second visit written permission for their child's participation in the project was sought. All information was presented orally in English and in Panjabi (by a native speaker who was known as a member of the Mirpuri community). Written details of the project and permission forms were presented in both Urdu and English. They were returned to the researcher by post or

via the school, as preferred. It was hoped that this would reduce (perceived) pressure to participate in the project. The parents and care-givers present, usually female members of the family, grandmother, sisters, sister(s)-in-law, were interviewed and data gathered on the participating child. These data were gathered through semi-formal interviews. The data collected included:

- i) The family's perception of their child's linguistic repertoire. Families were asked to comment on their child's relative competence in Mirpuri-Panjabi their home language and English.
- ii) The number of siblings in the family and their ages.
- iii) The perceived linguistic repertoire of these siblings.
- iv) The family network of children attending the same school.
- v) The composition of the family (siblings, grandparents etc).
- vi) Whether or not the child had ever made a visit to Pakistan.

The data collected from these semi-formal home interviews formed the basis of a diary record where comments and explanations from a number of sources, including the professionals' and researchers' observations were added throughout the duration of the project. These observations provided, in part, some of the *thick* contextual data (Geertz, 1975) that were integrated into the analysis of the discourse data. They will not be presented separately here. Their function is to supplement the fieldnotes accumulated to help with the retrospective illumination of the data collected.

5.5.4 The Setting: Box Hill Nursery

The research site, Box Hill Nursery school draws its pupil intake from a multilingual community. It is a thirty-nine place nursery with children attending either a morning or an afternoon session, for five days per week, Monday to Friday. The intake includes a homogeneous group of Urdu-Panjabi speakers, one of the major UK community languages. The observed group comprised both boys and girls. This

group constituted a significant, but not dominant group of the nursery intake (twelve of the thirty-nine pupils).

Chapter 4 outlined the importance of context as an integral element of linguistic description. The organisation or structure of the nursery setting is therefore significant. The physical organisation and layout of the setting has been determined and influenced by Bruner (1986) and the other post-Piagetian social psychologists. The large open plan room is divided into twenty-eight learning domains, each containing structured learning activities and materials which have been designed to address specific aspects of social, cognitive, physical, moral or aesthetic development of the child. Each learning domain is delineated by the positioning of furniture and 1.2 metre high screens, thus allowing supervising adults an overview of the room while simultaneously providing maximum seclusion to the children inside the individual domains. This carefully planned learning environment remained unchanged throughout the four month observation period, with one exception. During the last four weeks of term, that is after 24th November, Domains 22 and 23 merge and became the Christmas Tree which the children had helped to decorate. The educational rationale underpinning the layout and design of the nursery was to encourage maximum learner autonomy. It was a good, but not showcase example of the LEA policy. Children were expected to select their learning activity and to be responsible for the collection and storage of all learning materials required for the chosen activities. Materials were available with each domain, stored in labelled units. (A plan of the nursery setting can be found in Chapter 7, Figure 7.1).

5.5.5 The Informants

There are a number of questions relating to the size of the sample chosen for investigation which the researcher must consider. Milroy (1987:22) reports that many (unspecified) surveys have fewer than four speakers in each cell and that Labov's New York City project included a sample of eighty-eight speakers but that the data-

handling problems characteristic of sociolinguistic analysis means that frequently only a fraction of the data are selected for analysis. Sankoff (1980:02) suggests that large samples bring increased data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. She suggests that the selection of the sample may be more crucial than its size.

Originally a group of twelve informants were selected for The Box Hill Nursery Projects. They were all born in the UK, as the first born child to ethnic Pakistani, Urdu-Panjabi speaking parents, whose origins were in the Mirpur region. All had lived in the UK since their birth and none had made visits to Pakistan. In family interviews the children were described by families as monolingual, Panjabi speakers. Their knowledge of spoken English was judged as limited to comprehending a few words only, or as non-existent. There are reasons for this seeming under-estimation of the children's linguistic competence on the part of the families. They may have genuinely not witnessed the children's use of English or it may be that they did not want to over-estimate competence in English and thereby jeopardise the child's school achievement record either through the exclusion from Specialist ESL support or for other unstated reasons. It is possible the informants would not need to use English within the household.

The original group of informants included seven girls and five boys, aged between three years and five months (3.5) and four years eight months (4.8) at the beginning of the project. They represented a homogeneous linguistic group of one of the major community languages currently spoken in UK schools, Mirpuri a vernacular of Urdu-Panjabi.

The final data sets were collected from the following informants:

Name	Date of Birth	Age
Sabia	21. 01. 83	4.8
Kamran	23.01.84	4.8
Ishtiaq	05. 02. 83	4.7
Imran	07. 06. 83	4.3
Rabila	23. 02. 84	3.7
Shamaila	11. 04. 84	3.5
Shazad	19. 04. 84	3.5
Sofees	26. 05. 84	3.4

Table 5.2 The Informants

5.5.6 Phase Two: Collecting Discourse Data

Naturally occurring discourse data were collected with the use of micro-cassette recorders concealed within specially designed jerkins. Wearing protective clothing is an established practice in nursery schools. Placebo garments were worn by the other children in the classroom. The physical stature of the informants determined that the recording apparatus should be lightweight. Sanyo 6000 Micro-Talk Book recorders were used. These machines weigh 145 grammes when loaded with batteries and tape. A lapel microphone with its lead and wirings was sewn into the lining of the jerkin. The microphone with its range of 5 metre (15 feet) allowed for data to be collected from the child wearing the jacket, their fellow discourse participants, together with the linguistic environment of the classroom to which the child was being exposed. The micro-recorders were concealed at the back of the jackets in a padded pocket. This location was chosen because it allowed for free access to the recording device during the recording sessions and is considered to be safely placed so as to avoid personal, accidental injury.

The children attend the nursery for two hours each day between 13.00 - 15.00 hours. One hour of continuous naturally occurring discourse was collected from each informant on two separate occasions between September and December 1987. Audio-tapes were used as the preferred method of data collection for a variety of reasons. They were chosen in preference to the radio-microphones used by Tizard and Hughes (1984) and Wells (1984) or video-recordings because:

- i) they provide an instantaneous record of the linguistic events.
- ii) the method allows for unlimited playback of the recordings, thus ensuring maximum access to the original data format for transcription, analysis and discussion.
- iii) it is a less obtrusive method of data collection, allowing the unfettered movement of the informants both indoors and outside.
- iv) the age and hence size of the informants made them a more practical choice.

5.5.7 Observation Schedules

The linguistic data were complemented by contextual observations. As a starting point, observation schedules used in previous research were considered and two were trialled before the final version was achieved. The observation schedule used by Sylva et al (1980) was considered inappropriate because the closed categories of this schedule did not allow for the full range of contextual behaviour observed to be recorded. Observation Schedule Version 1, used during the pilot phase of the project, was based on the one devised by Tough (1977) for individual child observations. In light of the need to amalgamate thick data with discourse data, amendments were made and Observation Schedule Version 2 (Figure 5.2) was trialled. It was considered necessary to adopt a more open observation schedule based on the observed behaviour of this particular group of children. The refined observation schedule that was finally adopted and used is shown in Figure 5.3.

The final version of the Observation Schedule (Figure 5.3) incorporates a number of features pertinent to in situ contextual observations and post fieldwork reflections. The in situ observations include the time of the observation; the activity in which the child under observation was engaged; other participants present at the activity, including adults and teachers; and any other points considered to be of note or interest. Post fieldwork reflections and notes were made in collaboration with other adults present, at the end of each observation session. The Observation Schedules were completed during the data analysis phase of the project when further information was added. These included information to facilitate retrieval of data for further scrutiny, like the number reading on the tape recorder and transcriber, as well as detail more pertinent to the data analysis, such as the language used (Panjabi or English) by individuals for specific interactions.

Observations were carried out on at least two separate occasions over a four month period from September to December, the children's first term in school. Each child was observed on the first day in the nursery school and on at least one subsequent occasion. These observations and recordings yielded a total of thirty hours of naturally occurring audio-taped discourse data.

Ethnographic research is fraught with variables. Non-attendance, illness, faulty recording equipment and school transfers, all intervene to interrupt data collection in educational institutions. This is the peril of ethnographic studies. Their worth remains undinted by these influences. A variety of these events influenced the Box Hill Nursery Project and reduced the original sample of twelve to eight. For the purpose of detailed analysis the study will therefore be based on 16 periods of observation, two per informant. The first on the first day in school and the second at the end of term. The data comprise one hour of discourse data on the first day in school and one hour at the end of the term. These were complemented by thick observational data.

NAME:

AGE:

DATE:

TIME	ACTIVITY	OBSERVATION OF TALK AND BEHAVIOUR	UTTERANCES
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SUMMARY

Figure 5.2 Observation Schedule Version 2

5.6 Summary

This chapter outlines the conceptual rationale for the Box Hill Nursery Project, together with some of the practical considerations and constraints encountered in the planning and implementation of the Project. A discussion of the Project has been presented together with an suggested framework for ethnolinguistic descriptive analyses.

A final thought: the primary function of the researcher is to make choices. The best available option is to ensure that these choices are as fully informed as current thinking allows. There is of course always scope for development.

CHAPTER 6

TIME ON TASK

The Hopi, an Indian tribe, have ... no tense for past, present and future. The division does not exist. What does that say about time?

Jeanette Winterton
Sexing the Cherry 1989:08

CHAPTER 6 - TIME ON TASK

6.0 Levels of Data Analysis

The following chapters present five levels of descriptive analysis, ranging from the macro level of contextual setting to the micro level of an individual speaker's language use. Chapter 6 will present a quantitative analysis of the children's use of time in the form of time on task analysis. Chapter 7 will present a second level of data analysis of the children's use of space within the nursery. Chapter 8 is a social network analysis of relationships between the children in the nursery. The data analysis is concluded in Chapters 9 & 10 with a descriptive analysis of the children's use of language. Chapter 9 addresses patterns of English language use within the social networks and Chapter 10 will outline the specific uses of Mirpuri-Panjabi, the home language, in the nursery setting. Each level of analysis presented will be described using data from the corpus presented as exemplar. These data have been drawn from all of the informants participating in the study.

6.1 Introduction to Level 1 of Data Analysis

This chapter begins with the first level of descriptive analysis. It is a quantitative description of how children spend their time in the nursery school. By focusing on individual children, and their movements within the nursery, the aim is to demonstrate the ways in which they spend their time on selected learning activities.

The study of time and space are important aspects of the enculturation process in a number of ways. Lubeck (1985:35) suggests that the study of time, space and activity enables the researcher to examine the ways in which adults organise a way of life that has subsequent effect on children. She suggests (Lubeck, 1985:36) that time and space delimit 'the reality which participants of a particular cultural group experience,' and she cites Durkheim (1933 & 1956) to support the view that the organisation of time and space reflect social organisation:

the differential conception and use of time, space and activity suggest that there are cultural differences in the structuring of reality.

Lubeck (1985:37)

Different languages also use different referents to time and space (Crystal, 1987). Lee (1980) in a re-codification of Malinowski's fieldnotes and observation manuscripts notes that the Trobriander Island people who Malinowski describes, did not use linear referents in their language. She postulates that there are both linear and non-linear codifications of reality and suggests that individuals in any society pattern their thinking and behaviour in accordance with the codes of their own culture. This behaviour is learned and forms an important part of the socialisation process. Individuals use this learned pattern for understanding all subsequent patterns of behaviour. They interpret all experiences in terms of the codes of their own culture and behaviour.

Birdwhistell (1971) in his pioneering work on kinesics reinforces the importance of non-verbal communication. He suggests that spoken language is not of equal importance in all cultures, and even in highly verbal cultures, a large part of an individual's time is spent in non-verbal interactions. The view is reinforced by Hallowell:

the cultural patterns of different societies offer different means by which spatial perceptions are developed, refined and ordered. The spatial concepts of different societies also vary with the degree of abstraction attained ... the variability is correlated with the fact that one set of conditions may demand very little in the way of spatial discrimination of a certain order (for example, measurement), but considerable refinement in other respects (for example, directional orientation).

Hallowell (1955/77:147)

There are numerous examples of the ways in which different languages reflect a community's conceptualisation of time (Crystal, 1987). Thus it can be seen that the concept of time is culture bound and the ways in which people use their time is

behaviour that is learned, in part, during the socialisation process. For this reason the study of how the children spend their time in the nursery seemed an appropriate starting point for this study. It also links with other studies of classrooms that will be outlined in the following section.

6.2 Previous Observational Studies of Classrooms

In situ observational studies are not entirely novel but they are a good starting point for scrutinising what children actually do in school, how they spend their time and for noting patterns of behaviour. There are a number of observational studies which aim at providing a descriptive analysis of young children's learning experiences (eg Bennett, 1976; Sylva et al, 1980; Tizard & Hughes, 1984 & Tizard et al, 1988). These researchers claim that significant educational advantage is to be gained by pupils who spend sustained periods of time on teacher-structured tasks:

since two thirds of the activities with long spells of concentration contain clear goal structure, we conclude that children stick at activities that challenge the mind.

Sylva et al (1980:65)

These studies all share the view that the amount of time an individual child spends on a learning activity is a significant factor in the learning processes that are taking place. This phenomenon has come to be known as *time on task* (Bennett, 1976).

Bennett (1976:158-159) cites a number of previous studies and sources to support his concurring view on the importance of time on task in the learning process. These include Rothkopf (1970) who contends that:

in most instructional situations what is learned depends largely on the activities of the student

Rothkopf (1970) cited in Bennett (1976:158).

Bennett also cites Anderson (1970) to support his general thesis that:

the activities the students engage in when confronted with instructional tasks are of crucial importance in determining what (s)he will learn.

Bennett (1976:158)

These propositions all conform to an earlier model of school learning described by Carroll (1963) who suggests that everything else being equal, attainment is determined by the opportunities provided by the teacher in a given context, and the subsequent use that the individual pupils make of those opportunities. The relationship between teacher provision and pupil take-up has been investigated by a number of educational researchers cited in this chapter who have studied pupils at different stages in their school lives. In their conclusions, all support the view that the teacher plays a central role in structuring and sequencing learning activities for pupils and that the periods of time that the child spends engaged in particular activities is a determinant of the quality of learning that takes place.

Samuels & Turnure (1974) studied the school behaviour of six year olds; McKinney et al (1975) studied eight year olds; Cobb (1972) eleven year olds and Lahaderne (1968) twelve year olds. The findings of all of these studies are distilled in the portrait of *the competent child* presented by McKinney et al (1975) as one who is attentive, intelligent and task-orientated. All of these studies support the view that time on task is a crucial factor in pupil attainment. Bennett (1976) suggests two reasons for this. The first is that:

the total amount of active learning time on a particular instructional topic is the most important determinant of pupil achievement on that topic.

Bennett (1976:159)

The second is that:

there is enormous variation in time for learning for different pupils, their time devoted to specific learning topics, and their total amount of active learning time.

Bennett (1976:159)

Although Bennett's study, and those cited by him, do not include observations of children learning in nursery schools, *Childwatching*, a study by Sylva et al (1980) did include children of this age. The Sylva et al study went beyond the observations made by previous researchers stating that time on task is central to pupil learning. They identify a number of specific factors said to account for an individual's sustained engagement in learning activities. These influencing factors include the cognitive challenge of the task; whether it was high, complex, ordinary or low challenge. In response to the question on their observation schedule 'What keeps a child at a particular activity?' (Sylva et al, 1980:254) the coded response allows for the presence of an adult to be registered as an influential factor. This is a point that will be explored in the later levels of analysis.

6.3 Contextual Observations

This first level of data analysis addresses time on task. Using the semi-structured observation schedule already presented in Figure 5.3 data were collected on individual pupils during their time in the nursery school. The observation schedules are semi-structured in the sense that pre-coded behaviours were not the focus. Instead a range of questions had been formulated to provide a semi-structured framework for the periods of observation. The first level of analysis addresses the following questions:

- (i) how does each child spend time
- (ii) which learning domains are selected
- (iii) how much time is spent on selected activities
- (iv) how does this experience vary from day to day and change over time.

Box Hill Nursery school is organised into a number of separate learning domains. The domains are referred to by teachers and children by the nature of the activity they house eg the painting table, the clay. For ease of reference these domains have been numbered in the following way:-

Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom
Domain 2	Office
Domain 3	Library
Domain 4	Staff Cloakroom
Domain 5	Home Corner
Domain 6	Books
Domain 7	Dry Sand
Domain 8	Outside Play Area
Domain 9	Paints
Domain 10	Craft Design Technology (CDT) Bench
Domain 11	Junk Table
Domain 12	Wet Sand
Domain 13	Clay
Domain 14	Water Area
Domain 15	Washbasins
Domain 16	Sink
Domain 17	WCs
Domain 18	Kitchen
Domain 19	Food
Domain 20	Staff Kitchen
Domain 21	Construction Area
Domain 22	Train Set ⁺
Domain 23	Music ⁺
Domain 24	Drawing Table
Domain 25	Games
Domain 26	Book Corner
Domain 27	Building Bricks
Domain 28	Corridor Areas

⁺ After 24th November Domains 22 and 23 merge as a Christmas Tree.

Domains 22 and 23 are also used for story times and whole class activities.

6.4 Graphs of Time on Task During the First Hour in Box Hill Nursery School

This section outlines responses to the first three research questions posed (Section 6.3). The findings are presented diagrammatically in graph form (Appendix A). The graphs demonstrate the ways in which individual children spend their time in the nursery. The discussion begins with an analysis of the children's first hour in the nursery. A later section will compare these findings with end of term behaviours.

Using a time axis (in minutes) and a space (domain) axis, the graphs show which learning domains were visited by individual children and the time spent by the child in each domain. Periods of less than one minute were recorded as one minute. Three minutes was considered a benchmark time since this was the duration noted in previous studies (Sylva et al, 1980) as sustained for children of this age in a nursery school. Periods of time on task longer than three minutes were considered significant and therefore worth more detailed scrutiny. The following sections (6.4.1; 6.4.2; 6.4.3; 6.4.4 & 6.4.5) present case studies for five children.

6.4.1 Imran's First Hour in Box Hill Nursery

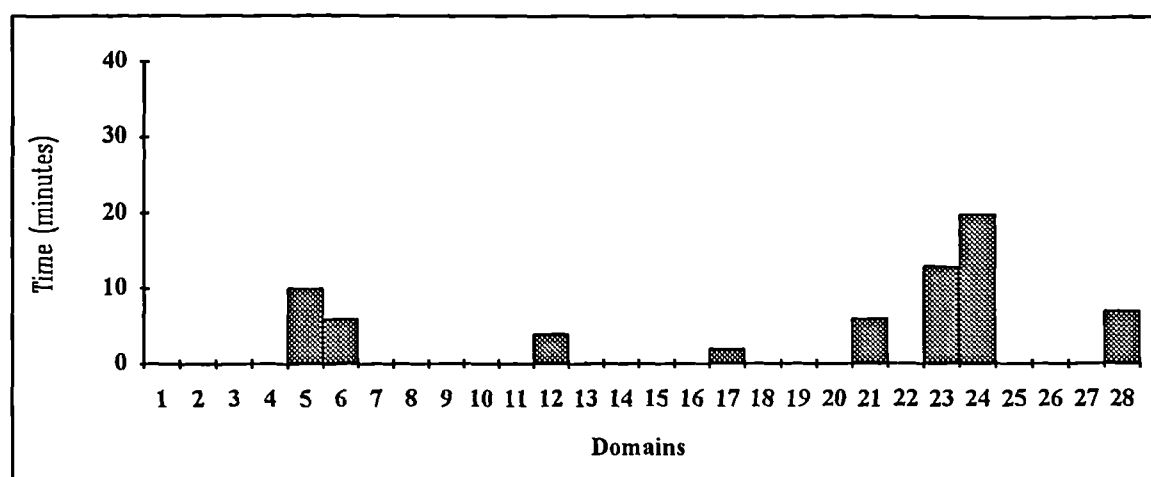


Figure 6.1 A graph of Imran's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

Figure 6.1 is a graph showing how Imran spent his very first hour in the nursery. From the graph it can be seen that Imran visited a total of eight domains during that time. He spends significant periods of time (a total of fifty-five minutes) in six of the eight domains:

Domain 5	Home Corner	10 minutes
Domain 6	Books	6 minutes
Domain 12	Wet Sand	4 minutes
Domain 21	Construction Area	6 minutes
Domain 23	Musical Instruments	13 minutes
Domain 24	Drawing Table	10+10 minutes (2 visits)

Imran spends only short periods of time (less than ten minutes in total) in the corridors (Domain 28). He also made one visit to the Children's Toilet (Domain 17). However, time spent in the corridor (Domain 28) and the WC (Domain 17) are not necessarily areas where he would be expected to spend long periods of time.

There are two ways of recording these observations. Imran visits eight domains but engages in a total of ten activities. The nature and type of activity will be categorised and discussed in a later section. However, points emerge that serve to illustrate the importance of continuous observations. In a time sampled observation, some details could be lost. The significance of Imran's profile can only fully be understood when it is compared with the profiles of the other children in the nursery.

6.4.2 Ishtiaq's First Hour in Box Hill Nursery

Figure 6.2 is a graph of how another boy, Ishtiaq, spends time during his first hour in the nursery. Ishtiaq visits a total of six learning domains. Again it can be seen that he spends different amounts of time in each, but with significantly longer periods of time in the following three:

Domain 8	Outside Play Area	38 minutes
Domain 9	Painting Table	15 minutes
Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	20 minutes

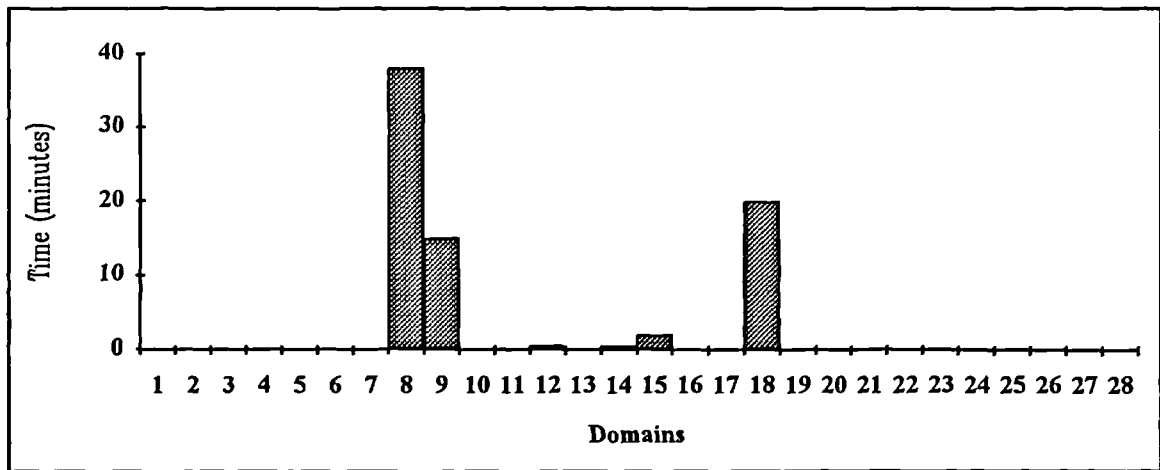


Figure 6.2 A graph of Ishtiaq's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

Imran and Ishtiaq are both boys but similar profiles can be observed for girls, as the following three graphs demonstrate.

6.4.3 Rabila's First Hour in Box Hill Nursery

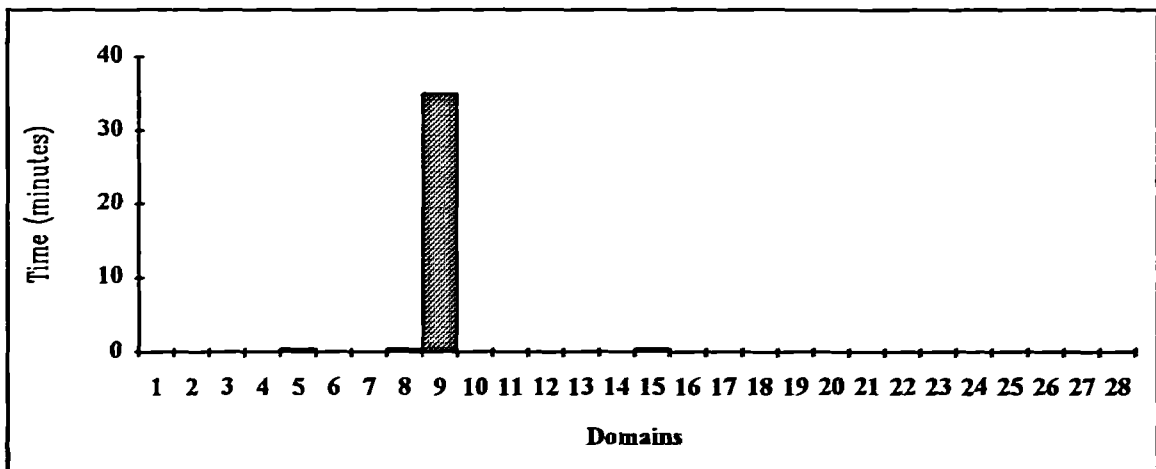


Figure 6.3 A graph of Rabila's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

During her first hour in the nursery (Figure 6.3) Rabila visits a total of five learning domains, spending only short periods of time at three, Domain 5 (the home corner); Domain 8 (the outside play area) and Domain 15 (the washbasins). She spends a more sustained period of time (35 minutes) at the Painting Table (Domain 9).

She spends the first twenty minutes in school with Teacher 1 on a visit to the Main School building. This is not included in Figure 6.3.

By comparing Rabila's profile with another girl, Sabia, again a similar pattern of behaviour can be observed.

6.4.4 Sabia's First Hour in Box Hill Nursery

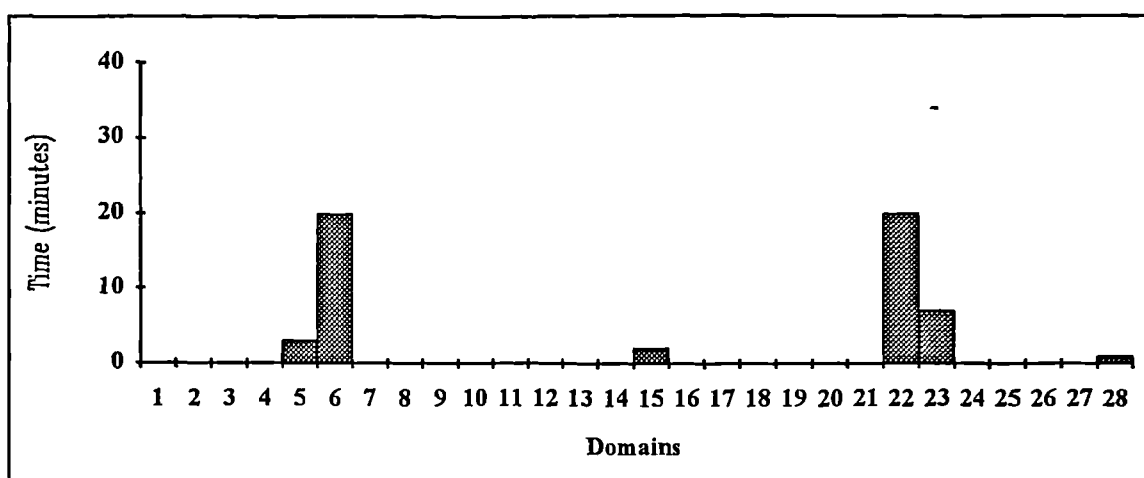


Figure 6.4 A graph of Sabia's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

Sabia visits a total of six domains during her first hour in school, at four of which she spends sustained periods of time (Figure 6.4). Sabia's profile is interesting because she chooses to return to one of the activities, the book corner. The first time she spends fifteen minutes there and then she returns some time later and spends a further five minutes. A return visit to a domain has also been observed for other children. Sabia spends the longest time at the story session in Domain 22/23 (twenty minutes). Her first hour can be summarised in the following way:

Domain 5	Home Corner	3 minutes
Domain 6	Book Corner	15 +5 minutes (2 visits)
Domain 23	Music	7 minutes
Domain 22/3	Story Time	20 minutes

6.4.5 Ammara's First Hour in Box Hill Nursery

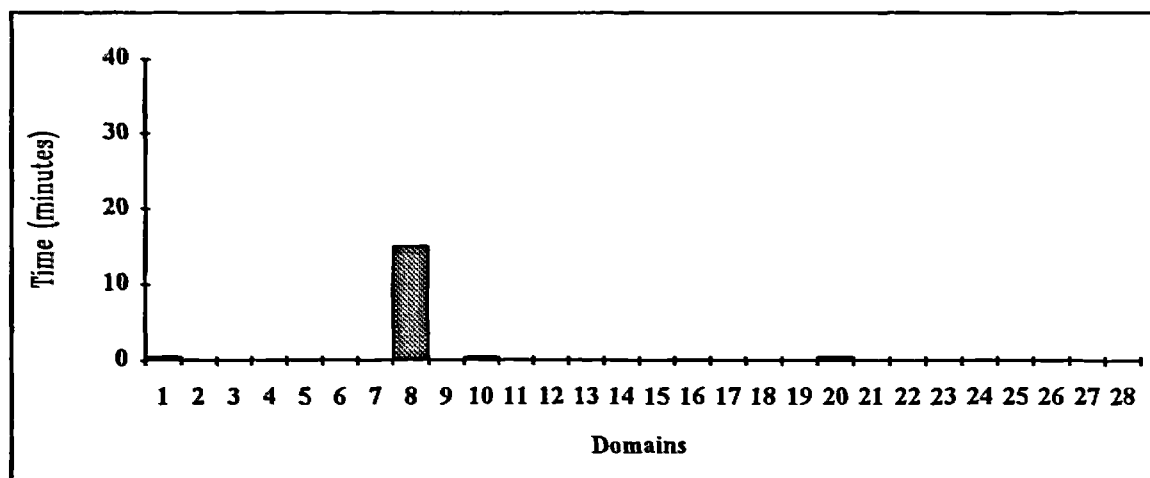


Figure 6.5 A graph of Ammara's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

From Figure 6.5 it can be seen that Ammara visited a total of four learning domain during her first hour in the nursery. She spent only short spells of time at three of the domains; Domains 1 (the children's cloakroom), 10 (CDT bench) and 20 (the staff kitchen). However, she spends significantly longer (fifteen minutes) in Domain 8 (the outside play area).

Table 6.1 presents a comparative overview of all eight children observed and the number of activities in which they engaged on their first hour in the nursery. Further, it identifies the total number of activities where individuals spent sustained periods of time, ie periods longer than the three minutes identified as significant by previous researchers Bennett (1976) and Sylva et al (1980). The table contains data on all of the informants observed during the first hour in school. However, practical constraints (illness and change of school) prevented the collection of complete data sets for two girls, Ammara and Sumera. End of term data are not available for these, therefore they will not be included in the discussion of other levels of data analysis. However, they have been included here because their inclusion broadens the data base and helps

to confirm the general pattern of behaviours observed on the first day in school as typical of bilingual children from similar home backgrounds.

Name	Graph No.	First Day Activities	
		Sustained	Total
Ammara*	1	1	5
Imran	2	7	10
Ishtiaq	4	3	7
Kamran	6	3	4
Rabila	8	2	6
Sabia	10	5	8
Shamaila	12	6	13
Shazad	14	4	12
Sofees	16	5	8
Sumera*	18	2	11

Table 6.1 Summary of first day activities for all ten informants observed during their first hour in Box Hill Nursery (* indicates no end of term data available)

6.5 Discussion of Time on Task Data

A number of features worthy of comment emerge from Table 6.1. All of the children in the sample visit more than one of the learning domains on their first day in the nursery. However, the total for each individual varies from a minimum of four (Kamran) to a maximum of thirteen (Shamaila). The second point to note is that of the twenty-eight domains potentially available, not all of the domains were actually selected. So, in response to the first question posed at the outset of the observations: 'how do children spend their time in the nursery?' the graphs provide a detailed overview for each informant. There is not a significant difference noted between the

profiles of boys and girls. The highest number of domains recorded are for girls, Shamaila, Shazad and Sumera. Kamran, a boy, has the lowest. There is therefore little to support the findings of previous research (Clarricoates, 1987) that suggests boys are adventurous and more likely to explore and move around than girls.

Perhaps the most significant feature from the data analysis is the duration of time on tasks that was noted. This varied from mere seconds to several minutes. All of the children in the sample spend sustained periods of time in at least one domain. Significantly, periods are longer than the three minutes reported in Sylva et al's (1980) *Childwatching* study of children of similar age in a comparable setting. The maximum period of sustained time on task is recorded for Ishtiaq who spends 38 minutes in Domain 8, the Outside play area. Thirty-eight minutes is a considerable period of time and is not a usual feature. However, all of the children are observed spending periods longer than three minutes on selected activities.

This next section addresses the fourth and final question posed at the outset of the observations, how do the ways in which the children spend their time in the nursery school vary from day to day? Graphs comparing first day and end of term observations will be presented to demonstrate the differences between first day and end of term behaviours in school

6.6 Graphs Comparing First Day and End of Term Observations

The data from one girl, Shazad, and one boy, Kamran, will be presented to make a comparison between the first and last observations of the term.

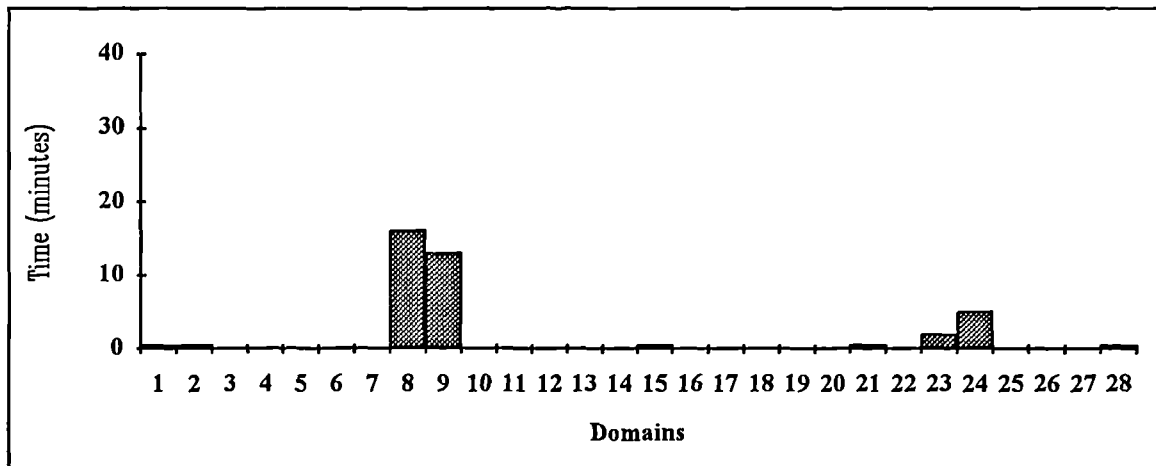


Figure 6.6 A graph of Shazad's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

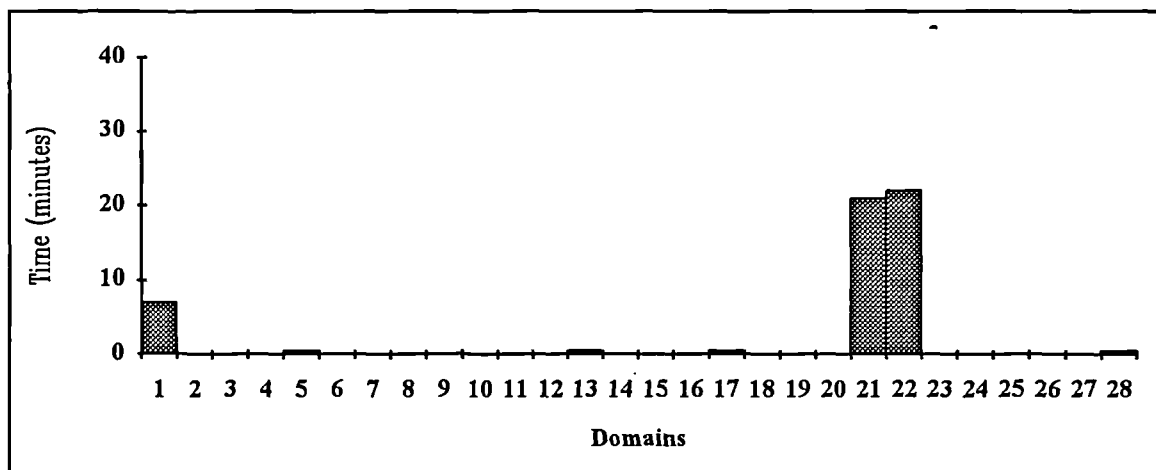


Figure 6.7 A graph of Shazad's end of term activities

The graphs in Figures 6.6 and 6.7 illustrate the ways in which Shazad's behaviour changes as the term progresses. On Day 1 she engages in a total of twelve activities in nine domains. By the end of term she has reduced the number of learning activities to eight. This decrease in the number of activities is accompanied by an increase in the time she spends on selected tasks. She spends longer periods of time in fewer domains. On Day 1 she spends sustained periods of time on four of the twelve activities. By the end of the term she spends sustained periods of time on three of the eight activities. Shazad's first and last day profiles exemplify the general trend across the informants.

A different profile can be seen in Figures 6.8 and 6.9 for Kamran.

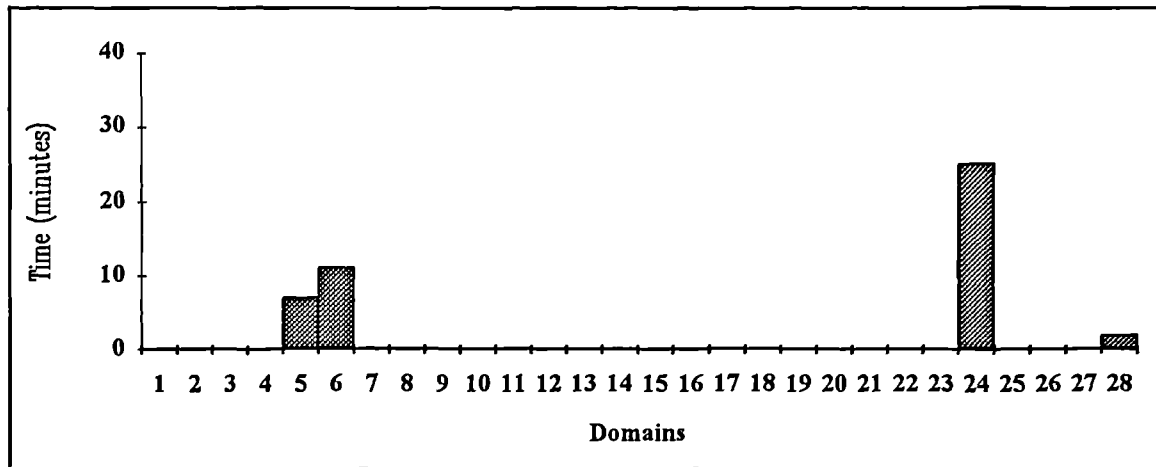


Figure 6.8 A graph of Kamran's first hour in Box Hill Nursery

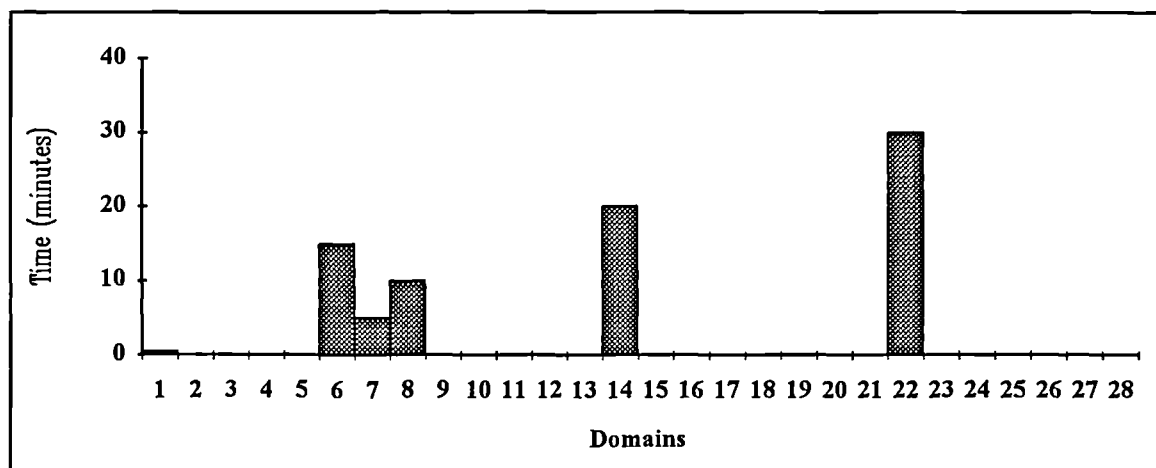


Figure 6.9 A graph of Kamran's end of term activities

From Figure 6.8 it can be seen that Kamran visits a total of four learning domains during his first hour in the nursery. He spends short spells of time in the corridors (Domain 28) but sustained periods in three other domains:

Domain 5	Home Corner	7 minutes
Domain 6	Books	11 minutes
Domain 24	Drawing Table	25 minutes

Kamran's profile shows an increase in the number of learning activities. At the end of term he visits six domains, spending sustained periods of time in five.

The changes in first day and end of term activities are summarised in Table 6.2. The table presents a comparison between first day and end of term behaviour for eight informants.

Name	First Day		End of Term	
	Sustained	Total	Sustained	Total
Imran	7	10	4	5
Ishtiaq	3	7	5	6
Kamran	3	4	5	9
Rabila	2	6	3	7
Sabia	5	8	5	7
Shamaila	6	13	6	10
Shazad	4	12	3	8
Sofees	5	8	2	2

Table 6.2 A comparison between first day and end of term activities

From Table 6.1 it can be seen that Shazad's profile indicating a decrease in the number of learning activities at the end of term is representative of the general trend. Kamran's profile stands in contrast to this. An increase in the number of learning activities at the end of term is recorded in only one other profile (Rabila).

6.7 A Comparison Between First Day and End of Term Activities

The findings from the Box Hill Nursery Project both concur with and differ from findings of previous studies. The findings can be summarised to demonstrate general trends and patterns of behaviour. These are:

- 1) All of the children in the sample select more than one learning activity, even on their first day in the nursery.
- 2) For six of the informants the total number of learning activities selected each day **decreases** as the term progresses.
- 3) For only two informants (Kamran and Rabila) the total number of learning activities selected each day **increases**.
- 4) All children spend some of their time on sustained activities, from Day 1.
- 5) For all of the informants, over the course of the observation period of one term, there is an increase in the duration of time spent on sustained activities.
- 6) Not all of the learning domains in the nursery are visited.
- 7) Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the time that these children spend on sustained tasks is significantly longer than the times recorded in previous observational studies.

The data suggest patterns of behaviour common to all children on their first days in school and there is strong evidence to suggest that these behaviours change as the term progresses. The first day and end of term graphs for the informants can be found in Appendix A.

6.8 Observations and Comments on the Data Analysis

Firstly, there are a number of comments to be made that relate to the research methods appropriate for observational studies of young informants in classroom settings. The individual child profiles presented here demonstrate the benefits to be gained from sustained periods of observation. The difference in the times spent on tasks reported here in comparison with the findings of other studies referred to (eg Sylva et al, 1980) could in part be explained by the time sampling methodology favoured by these other studies. It could be said that time sampling is an approach that can lead to partial insights which may distort the information gathered. By using

continuous (one hour) observations for this study a different profile of the individual's behaviour emerges. Also, the pre-coded observation schedules used in previous observational studies by Tough (1977) and Sylva et al (1980) did not prove suitable for this study because they did not allow all observed behaviour to be recorded. These established schedules did provide a useful starting point for the research design. It should be stated that it is unlikely that any pre-existing observation schedule could be used without some modification to suit the specific context (and children) that are being observed.

The third point relates to the presentation of data gathered. To present data on time on task in graph form is useful for a number of reasons. It provides a profile of individual children in a format which is reasonably accessible and easy to read. It also allows for comparisons to be made between individual children, and for individual children on different days. It is also an easy way to record findings. It is not without limitations, however. Graph format imposes practical constraints. For example, from Figure 6.1, the graph of Imran's first hour in school, it can be seen that although he was observed engaging in ten different activities, this information is recorded on the graph as only eight activities. This is because the graph format, without the benefit of colour graphics, does not allow easily for return visits to a domain to be recorded separately. Nor does it allow for separate time spans to be recorded within a domain. In addition, the graph format does not allow for the order of these visits to be recorded. On one level these limitations may not seem significant. However, when attempting to look for explanations for specific patterns of individual behaviour they do assume a significance. Hence it should be noted that although graphs of time on task are a useful form for presenting records of children's behaviour there are factors which they do not reveal and hence they must be viewed as partial. Therefore graphic representation alone cannot provide a full account of an individual's behaviour and in this sense they may be regarded as potentially a distortion.

The second set of comments relate to the analyses undertaken and the subsequent findings presented.

Different uses of time suggest different conceptualisations of time. Traditionally educational research has assumed that schools are educational rather than social institutions and that teachers and pupils are individuals rather than social beings. That meanings are created inter-subjectively and that history and culture help to orient individuals in time and space are basic premises of ethnographic enquiries but ones quite new to educational research.

Lubeck (1985:69)

The assertion that history and culture help to orientate individuals in time and space have important implications in a nursery setting where the teachers and pupils come from different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds and traditions. It is reasonable to assume that the expectations of appropriate uses of time spent in the classroom may not be the same for the teachers and their newly arrived pupils, even when they share a common culture and background. The disparity in expectations may be wider when the teacher and the pupils come from different cultures.

The organisation of time and space is of enormous significance in most cultures, making it one of the most frequent areas for cross-cultural conflict or misunderstandings, in large because it is so often unconscious.

Saville-Troike (1982:140)

6.9 Summary

Time on task analysis is a useful quantitative structure from which to form impressions of children's experience of school. However, there are aspects of detail which it is not possible to include in this level of data analysis and which may serve to provide a greater understanding of the observed behaviours. The cognitive complexity of specific learning tasks has been suggested by Bennett (1976) and Sylva et al (1980) as one reason for the sustained periods of time spent on task by individual learners. However, this would not seem to account fully for the time on task data from the Box Hill Nursery Project. If cognitive complexity were the crucial factor, one would

expect to find a pattern to emerge in the range of tasks selected. However this is not the case. Neither is there a set pattern of tasks for individual learners. Some domains remain unvisited. Occasionally a learner returns to a particular task on a given day. It seems therefore that there are other factors which influence the duration of time spent on selected learning activities.

These findings raise a number of questions: what are the factors that hold the interest of one child for sustained periods yet do not even attract a short visit from another child? What sustains the attention of one child for several minutes and another child for just seconds? Chapter 7 will present a second level of data analysis in an attempt to explore these questions.

CHAPTER 7

CREATING SOCIAL CONTEXTS THROUGH DISCOURSE

Children do quite like to gather together, in fits
and starts, to enjoy one another's company, to
find out how others live.

Fay Weldon
Darcy's Utopia 1990:54

CHAPTER 7 - CREATING SOCIAL CONTEXTS THROUGH DISCOURSE

7.0 Introduction to Level 2 of Data Analysis

This chapter presents a second level of data analysis in the form of a qualitative analysis of the children's use of space within the nursery. The case studies of four children, two girl and two boys, will be presented in a descriptive analysis that complements the time on task data analysis presented in Chapter 6. It will show how time and space are both influential factors on the ways in which the children behave and structure their activities. In this chapter, contextual data and discourse data will be combined and presented in the form of maps that demonstrate the children's movements around the nursery. The aim of presenting contextual data and discourse data in the combined form of maps is to demonstrate the interdependence of language and context in the Hallidayan tradition of systemic linguistics. The chapter begins with a description of Hymes' Ethnography of Communication.

7.1 The Ethnography of Communication - Speaking

The ethnography of communication provides criteria for defining the various aspects of context that are involved in differing interpretations of language use. The basic unit of analysis is the speech community. Hymes (1967:8-28) outlines a descriptive model for researchers to use when describing language use in the speech community. He calls this the Ethnography of Speaking. It aims to provide an explicit set of components included in a description of communicatively competent language use. Hymes (1972b:52) outlines the following descriptive ethnography of speaking:

Speech community is the basic unit of sociolinguistic analysis. It is a community in which rules for the conduct of at least one language (linguistic variety) must be shared.

Speech Situation is the context or environment in which speech events occur.

Speech Event is the activity in which rules or norms for speech operate.

Speech Act is the minimal unit of a speech event which implicates both social norms and linguistic form. The speech act mediates between aspects of grammar and a speech event or situation.

Speech Style is the contrastive choices that people make when selecting the ways they speak from the personal linguistic repertoire at their disposal.

Ways of speaking describes the rule-governed behaviour that allows for a variety of individual choices to be made but still maintaining mutual intelligibility between speakers of the same language. Hymes (1968) outlines the components of speech acts in a mnemonic, **SPEAKING**:

Setting and scene	
Participants	
Ends:	goals and outcomes
Act sequence:	the order of the message form and its content
Key:	tone, manner (for example, serious, mocking)
Instrumentalities:	channels and forms of speech, for example, writing or speech
Norms of interaction:	discourse rules of silence, interruption, status of speakers etc
Genres:	the form appropriate to poem, letter, casual conversation, public speech

7.2 The Social Context of Language Development

Halliday's conceptual framework of language as socio-semiotic acknowledges that language is learned through an ongoing exchange of meaning with significant others (parents, peers, siblings, caregivers etc). This *coterie of significant others* constitutes a meaning group for a child who is learning a language. Language learning, therefore,

is not a discrete activity, independent of social context but it is a social activity. While the child is learning a language, other significant learning is taking place simultaneously, through the medium of language. The child is thereby, constructing an internal and an external reality to which the coterie of significant others with whom interaction is taking place, are also contributors. Hence:

the construal of reality is inseparable from
the construal of the semantic system in
which the reality is coded.

Halliday (1978:01)

For a child, therefore, learning a language requires more than learning the lexis, the syntax, and the phonology of a language system. Learning a language requires learning how to mean and learning to construe the reality of the speech community of which he or she is striving to become a member.

Consequently, when learning a language it is insufficient for a child to be merely grammatically competent by learning the grammatical rules which govern the language, the child also needs to learn to be communicatively competent. In order to do this the learner must learn the appropriate accompanying rules of social and linguistic behaviour. This behaviour was termed by Hymes (1972b) as *communicative competence* and was defined by him as knowing:

when to speak, when not to, what to talk
about and with whom, when, where and in
what manner to interact.

Hymes (1972b:277)

In other words, children must learn the sociolinguistic behaviour appropriate to a given cultural context and the social situation within that. Appropriate behaviour in the playground may not be appropriate behaviour in the classroom and vice versa.

Hymes' (1972b) notion of communicative competence includes Chomsky's (1980) concepts of grammatical and pragmatic competence.

Halliday (1975: Chapter 6) states that although learning a language and learning the culture are different, they are interdependent:

this is true not only in the sense that a child constructs a reality for (her) himself largely through language, but also in the more fundamental sense that language is itself part of this reality. The linguistic system is part of the social system. Neither can be learned without the other.

Halliday (1975:120)

Halliday presents the conceptualisation of socio-semiotic which combines the social system with the linguistic system, with the two in a relevant relationship with one another, creating a developmental context. He suggests that the child's construction of a semantic system takes place alongside the construction of a social system. The two are dual aspects of a single process. The child, learning a language, builds up a social semiotic or the network of meanings. These constitute the culture. Through this process the child is becoming a member of the speech community. It is a process of socialisation. The child builds a semiotic of the community or society through interaction with others, peers, family members (Halliday, 1978:143). Halliday (1978:144) also identifies the school as one of the influential forces in contributing to the development of a semiotic network of meanings.

7.3 Discourse in Social Settings

Traditionally discourse data have been presented in the form of written transcriptions. In an attempt to capture something of the essence of the original context of the nursery school setting, the audio-taped recordings of the informants' discourse will be presented together with contextual observations as a composite, in the form of maps.

By combining the discourse data with the *thick* (Geertz, 1975) contextual data it is possible to create maps of the the individual informant's movements around the nursery school. By charting the individual's movements, it is possible to construct maps of each day's experience, to demonstrate how each child spends time on selected activities and to identify other people who contribute to these experiences. Data will be presented to demonstrate this technique for combining discourse and thick contextual data.

The maps enhance the time on task data presented in Chapter 6 because they contain further information about each of the informants, including:

1. The order in which each learning domain was visited.
2. The period of time to the nearest minute spent in each domain.
3. A summary of the activities in which the informant was engaged.
4. A categorisation of each activity.

The maps also aim to capture something of the essence of the child's movements around the nursery in a more naturalistic way than can be achieved through graphs. Analysis will suggest a number of plausible explanatory factors for the time an individual child spends engaged in a particular learning activity. Sylva et al's (1980) teacher (or adult) presence will be recognised as one possible influencing factor. Others will also be suggested. In particular it will be suggested that the physical structure of the nursery can provide a supportive context for learning and is an influencing factor in determining pupil behaviour.

7.4 Previous Studies of the Structure of Classrooms

There have been a number of previous studies of the spatial organisation of classrooms. Research has addressed a number of different features of the dynamics of the classroom as a social setting. Many have focused on the quality of the verbal interaction between teachers and pupil as an indication of the learning and teaching which is taking place. (A comprehensive overview of work in this field can be found in Edwards & Westgate, 1987).

Previous ethnographic studies include Sommer's (1967) study of the ecology of classroom participation, based on the implicit assumption that 'increased pupil participation correlated with more learning. Flanders' interaction analysis system (FIAC) similarly focuses on pupil-teacher interaction but proves unable to account for informal classrooms (Walker & Adelman, 1975:73-6; 1986). In his 1972 study of an American ghetto kindergarten, Rist (1972) argues that the actual spatial arrangement of the classroom setting reflects the kinds of social distinctions which develop later between teachers and pupils. He claims that spatial arrangements are based on a number of social class criteria, predetermined by the teacher and independent of any measure of the child's cognitive capacity or ability to perform academic tasks. He argues that spatial organisation based on these assumptions actually contributes to inequality and pupil underachievement (Rist, 1972). A study by Hitchcock (1982) focuses on the social organisation of space and place in an urban, open-plan primary school in the north-east of England. It reports that with the absence of walls and other delineating boundaries characteristic of open-plan settings, teachers create elaborate boundaries. This reveals the discrepancies between the intended uses of locations and the ways in which they are actually used by the people within them. Lubeck's 1985 anthropologically informed study sought to 'look at the day-to-day processes by which adults teach children to adapt to the reality which they themselves experience' (Lubeck, 1985:01). Collectively these ethnographic studies contribute to an

understanding of how the behaviour of children and teachers can be influenced by place, space and time.

This second level of data analysis demonstrates the creation of social contexts through discourse. It draws from systemic linguistics the idea that individuals create social situations through their use of language (Halliday, 1978). Using the audio-tape recordings of the data it is possible to demonstrate the ways in which the informants construct a range of social contexts, including learning situations, through the use of language.

7.5 Space and Place in the Nursery Setting

Level 2 of the descriptive analysis is founded in the theoretical tradition of systemic linguistics. It accepts Malinowski's (1923/66) position of context as integral to linguistic description and the Hallidayan description of language as social semiotic. Thus the encounters described are the result of the meanings negotiated between the discourse participants. The language use observed is the negotiation of potential meanings between the participants. The language used is not merely a feature of the interpersonal contact, it actually creates those social contexts through personal encounters.

Human orientation towards, and interaction within, the visible and invisible boundaries referred to as space and time of the environment are culturally determined. Hall (1959) refers to an individual's use of space as a 'specialised elaboration of culture' and suggests that space is a socio-cultural phenomenon, with different settings creating different codes and rules of permitted behaviour including varying degrees of permitted proximity between the participants in the setting. These ideas have been acknowledged and expanded by other studies. For example, Gumperz (1964) acknowledged the importance of domains for social interactions and later in

Gumperz (1975) he examined aspects of cross-cultural communication in specific domains.

Classrooms are specific social settings with their own codes and rules of appropriate behaviour. The spatial arrangement of the classroom, the activities that take place there, and the influence that the specific organisation exerts on the individuals present has been acknowledged and discussed since the influential Plowden Report, *Children and their Primary Schools*, was published in 1976 (DES, 1976). Schools and their classrooms may be conceived of as 'arenas of interaction', their spatial organisation providing the structural framework of possibility and constraint for the verbal and non-verbal behaviours that can take place within the boundaries. Recent discussions about primary school classrooms and the curriculum (Alexander, Rose & Woodhead, 1992) have made the organisation of space within classrooms a philosophical and pedagogic statement of teachers' values, assumptions and expectations.

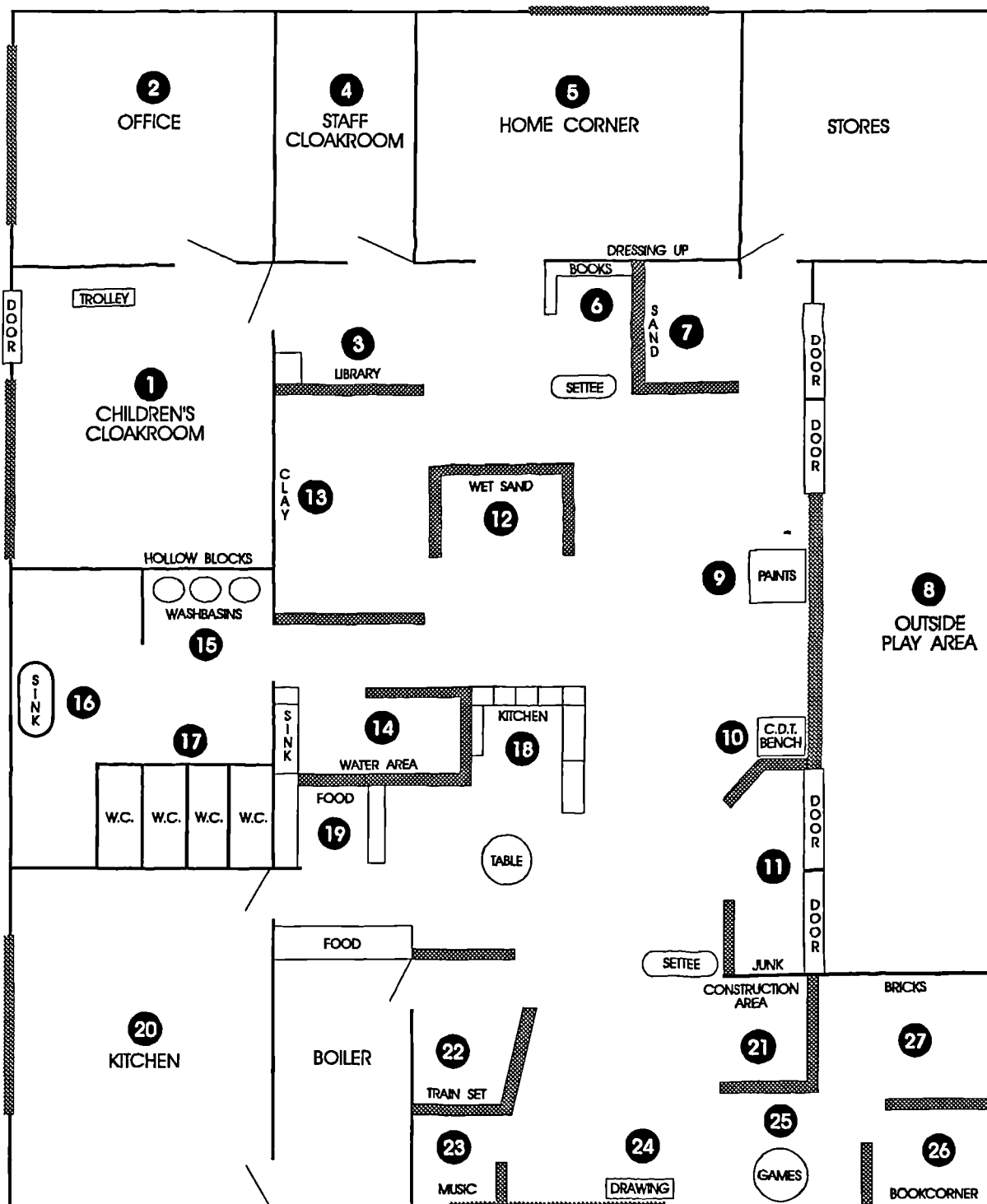
Space is also a crucial aspect of wider human interaction. The physical features of a setting contribute to (or even determine) the nature of the social interaction which can take place there. Spaces and places contain social information, signs or semiotics. Teachers organise a particular spatial arrangement within a classroom to present and reinforce intrinsic symbolic messages. In this way the classroom assumes social properties which signal to participants (pupils, parents, other teachers and professionals) a predetermined range of possible, permitted and appropriate social interactions and behaviours that can take place within that setting.

7.6 Box Hill Nursery School Setting

The structure of the nursery setting where the study was undertaken is significant in nurturing particular types of individual and group behaviour. The large open plan room is divided into a number of learning domains, each containing learning activities designed to address a specific aspect of social, cognitive, physical, moral or aesthetic development. Each learning domain is delineated by the positioning of furniture and 1.2 metre high screens, thus allowing supervising adults an overview of the room while simultaneously providing maximum seclusion to the children inside the individual domains. This carefully planned learning environment remained unchanged throughout the four month observation period with one exception. During the last four weeks of the term, Domains 22 and 23 became one domain containing a Christmas Tree which the children helped to decorate. This area was also used for whole class activities, for example, story time and singing, which took place at the end of each afternoon session. The educational rationale underpinning the layout and design was to encourage learner autonomy.

Pupils were expected to select their own learning activity and to be responsible for the collection and storage of all learning materials required for their activities. Materials were available within each domain, stored in labelled units. Figure 7.1 A Plan of Box Hill Nursery, identifies the learning domains by name and number. The domains are numbered in the order in which the child would arrive at them after entering the nursery, hence Domain 1 is the children's cloakroom.

MAP 1 THE NURSERY SETTING



Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Domain 11	Junk Table	Domain 21	Construction Area
Domain 2	Office	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Domain 22	Train Set ⁺
Domain 3	Library	Domain 13	Clay	Domain 23	Music ⁺
Domain 4	Staff Cloakroom	Domain 14	Water Area	Domain 24	Drawing Table
Domain 5	Home Corner	Domain 15	Washbasins	Domain 25	Games
Domain 6	Books	Domain 16	Sink	Domain 26	Book Corner
Domain 7	Dry Sand	Domain 17	WCs	Domain 27	Building Bricks
Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Domain 18	Kitchen	Domain 28	Corridor Areas
Domain 9	Paints	Domain 19	Food		
Domain 10	CDT* Bench	Domain 20	Staff Kitchen		

* Craft, Design & Technology

⁺ After 24th November Domains 22 and 23 merge - Christmas Tree

Figure 7.1 A Plan of Box Hill Nursery

Case studies of four informants, two girls, Rabila and Shamaila, and two boys, Kamran and Ishtiaq will be presented in map form. A complete set of maps for all of the eight informants can be found in Appendix B. The maps contain two types of dotted lines to show the child's movements around the available space. The bold lines show determined movement from one area to another. The lighter lines denote a transient movement, returning to the same domain.

Together with each map, a table will be presented. This will offer a summary of the domains visited and the number of activities in which the child was engaged. Each activity has been categorised. Four distinct types of behaviour have been observed. These will be defined and described in the following section.

7.7 Characteristic Features of Pupils' Behaviour

From the data it is possible to identify four types of observed activities that characterise the first term behaviours of the children in the nursery school. The first two can be defined in terms of the nature of the activity.

Functional Activities are those activities which serve a utilitarian need or necessity. Examples of these activities include toilet visits, hand washing, getting a drink or changing into or out of the appropriate clothing for a given task. The significance of functional activities cannot be gauged by their duration. They are typically of short term duration. However, they can be seen as necessary and purposeful. They are important because they demonstrate the child's independence.

Related Activities are defined not in terms of time span, but by the connection to previous activity and behaviour. Two examples are: when a child moves to another domain to get materials or apparatus for the activity in which they are already engaged or visits the washbasins to wash hands after a junk modelling,

gluing or painting activity. These activities are categorised as related because of their connection to the previous activity. They are usually connected with, and consecutive to, sustained activities and in some senses they could be categorised as a continuation of a sustained activity rather than a separate activity. However, it has been decided to identify them as separate to emphasise the importance of the connections that the children make between the activities in which they are engaged. Identifying these activities as separate also illustrates the point that activities of short term duration may be equally challenging for the young child as the sustained activities. They may present an equivalent cognitive challenge but in a different way. It is important that activities of short duration are understood within the context in which they occur. Viewed separately they could be regarded by the observer as less significant.

Two further activities can be more specifically defined in terms of their duration or time span (usually in minutes). These are:

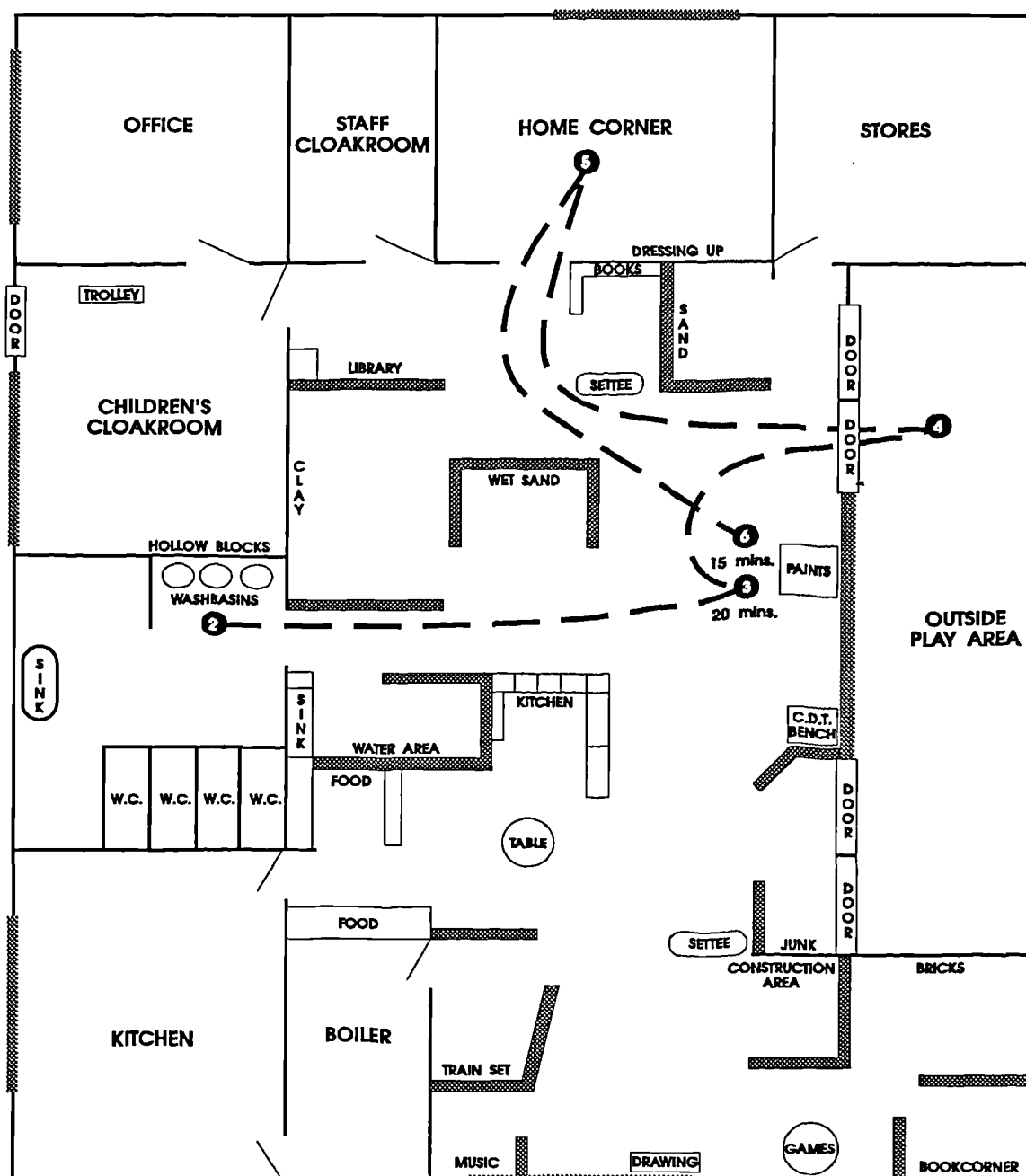
Sustained Activities that are characterised by a sustained period of time on one activity or encounter. Behaviour has been categorised as sustained if it lasts for more than the three minutes (as previously discussed in Chapter 6).

Transient Activities is the term that has been given to the momentary behaviour observed. Transient activities are characterised as short, fleeting behaviour. These activities usually last less than three minutes but can and frequently do last mere seconds. Transient activities are not obviously related to previous activity in which the child was engaged. They are similar to the 'cruising behaviour' identified in the Sylva et al (1980) study but differ in one important respect. The periods of time registered for transient behaviour are considerably shorter than cruising. Sometimes these activities last mere seconds.

There are the four types of pupil behaviour that have been observed during the children's first term in the nursery school. The characteristic features of pupil behaviour during these activities can be summarised as Functional, Related, Sustained and Transient (FiRST). These four types of behaviour provide the descriptive framework for categorising how the children use their time and the space within the nursery school. The following sections present the case studies of four children, demonstrating their use of space and the role played by language in this. The behaviour of the children will be categorised in terms of the four behaviours defined here.

7.8 Rabila's Story

All of the children arrive at the nursery via the children's cloakroom. It is used as a greeting area as well as storage for coats and outdoor wear. It adjoins the teachers' office. Rabila begins at the nursery when she is aged three years and seven months (3.7). On the first day she arrives at the nursery with her mother. She is met at the door by the Head of the nursery (T1). Her mother leaves, she immediately becomes very upset and begins to cry. Instead of taking her into the nursery, T1 picks her up and tries to comfort her. When this fails to calm her, T1 who was on her way to the main school building on business, takes Rabila with her. Figure 7.2 is a map of Rabila's movements around the nursery on her first hour in school. This first activity with T1 is not represented on the map. However, it is included in the summary of the day's activities, as Activity 1. Rabila and T1 return to the nursery twenty minutes later. Rabila is more settled and has stopped crying. She goes to the Washbasins, Activity 2 (Domain 15). This is where the mapping begins. T1 arrives there to wash some paintbrushes. Rabila then follows her back to the Painting Table (Activity 3, Domain 9). She joins a number of other children in a teacher directed



Activity 1	Main School	<i>Not on map</i>	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 15	Washbasins	Functional Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Related Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 5	Home Corner	Related Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 9	Paints	Related Behaviour for 15 minutes

Figure 7.2 A map of Rabila's movements on her first day at Box Hill Nursery

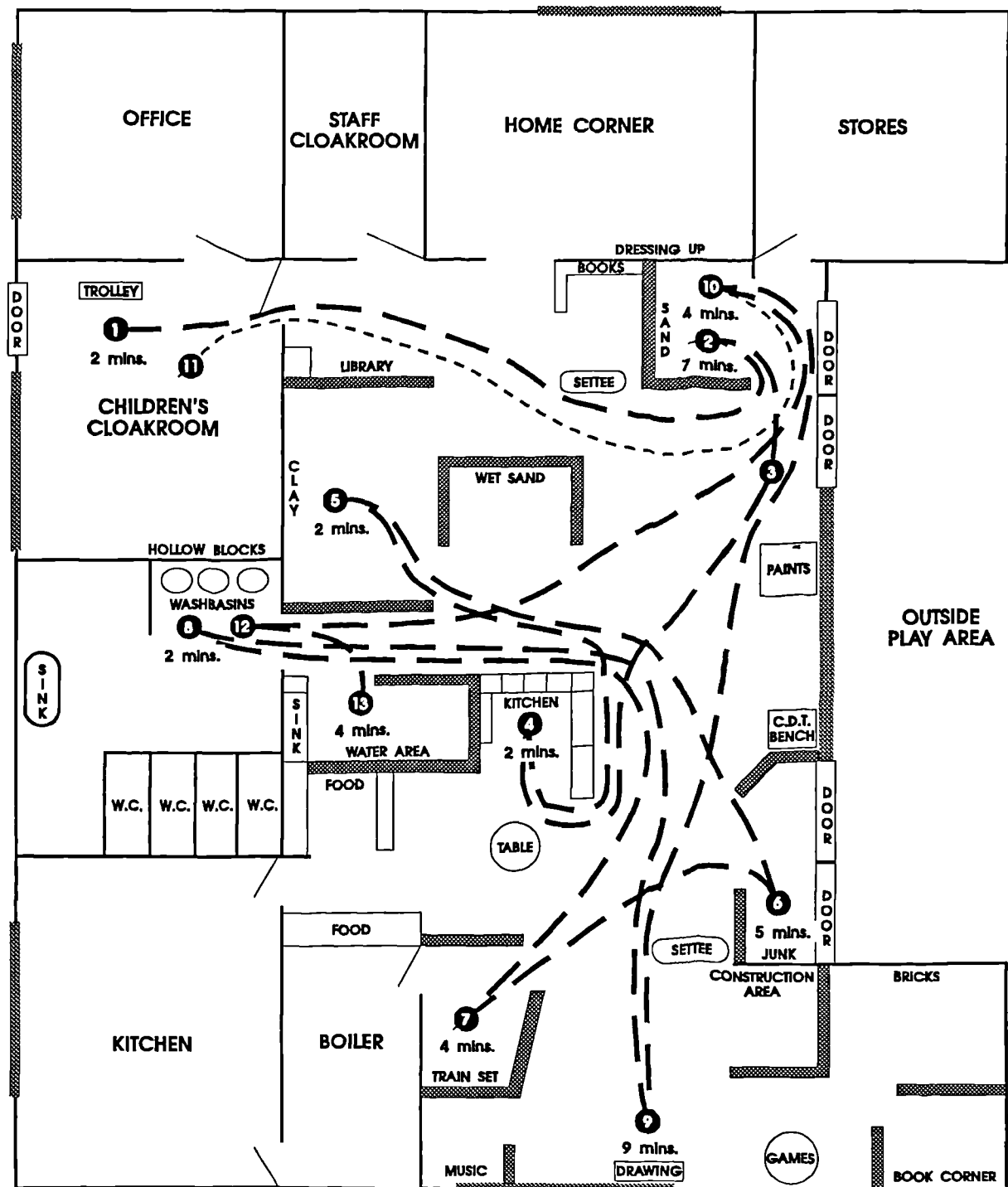
painting activity, where she stays for twenty minutes. The Painting Table is near to a large window overlooking the Outside Play Area (Activity 4, Domain 8) and the exit to it. This gives teachers (and children) a clear view of the outside area. When T1 goes outside briefly to talk to some children, Rabila follows her. Rabila continues to follow T1 to the Home Corner (Activity 5, Domain 5) and then finally back to the Painting Table (Activity 6, Domain 9), where she continues with the painting activity.

Rabila's profile is both unique to her and representative of the first day experiences of other children. It is representative in that she visits only a small number of the learning domains available, and she spends varying amounts of time ranging from just seconds, to a sustained period of twenty minutes on one of the activities. She makes a return visit to the Painting Table to continue with a known activity. Rabila's attachment to the teacher (T1) is significant in determining how she spends time. Rabila's first day activities are summarised in map form in Figure 7.2.

In order to assess how typical Rabila's first day behaviour is, it is necessary to compare her profile with those of other children.

7.9 Shamaila's Story

Shamaila is aged three years and five months (3.5). Shamaila, like Rabila, visits a number of learning domains during her first hour in the nursery. However, her behaviour is dissimilar in a number of ways. Figure 7.3 presents an overview of Shamaila's first hour in school as 'action packed'. It can be seen that she travels around the nursery a good deal. She arrives in school and spends two minutes in the children's cloakroom (Activity 1, Domain 1) going through the rituals of hanging up her coat, with the help of her grandfather, registering herself present on the attendance board and then saying goodbye to him and hello to the teachers. This has been categorised as Functional behaviour



Activity 1	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Functional Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 13	Clay	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 11	Junk Table	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 22	Train Set	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 9	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 9 minutes
Activity 10	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 11	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Related Behaviour
Activity 12	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 13	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes

Figure 7.3 A map of Shamaila's movements on her first day at Box Hill Nursery

because she is actually going through a number of routines which she will need to remember and repeat each day on her arrival at the nursery. From the outset she seems more independent of teachers.

During her first hour in school she experiences a number of different play activities. These start in the Dry Sand Area (Activity 2, Domain 7) where she stays for seven minutes. She then spends a short time in the corridor with another girl, Sabia.

Like Rabila (and the other children) her behaviour can be seen to be influenced by adults. At the suggestion of Teacher 4 Shamaila moves from the corridor to another activity:

Biling T4: well you go and find somewhere
else to play then

Transcript 7 Line 46

She goes to the Pretend Kitchen (Activity 4, Domain 18) and stays there for just two minutes, and spends a similarly short time (two minutes) playing with the Clay in Domain 13 (Activity 5). She then progresses through a number of sustained activities: Junk Modelling (Activity 6, Domain 11) for five minutes; playing with the Train Set (Activity 7, Domain 22) for four minutes; the Drawing Table (Activity 9, Domain 24) for nine minutes and Dry Sand (Activity 10, Domain 7) for a further four minutes. These periods of play activity are punctuated by general movement around the nursery and some functional visits to the children's cloakroom (Activity 11) and the washbasins (Activities 8 and 12). Shamaila ends her first hour in the nursery with a sustained activity of four minutes (Activity 13, Domain 14) playing in the Water Area.

A profile of this first hour in school can be summarised by noting that a number of different play activities were experienced, but not all domains of the nursery were

visited and that different periods of time were spent on a variety activities. Figure 7.3 presents an overview of Shamaila's first hour in the nursery.

Shamaila's profile and use of space is interesting because it stands in contrast to Clarricoates (1987) study which suggests that boys dominate the space available in classrooms. Boys move around a great deal more and create territory for themselves. In the observations presented here, Shamaila is observed moving around the nursery and is recorded as visiting more domains than any other child (boy or girl) on the first day in school. Another girl, Shazad visits a number of domains (a total of 12) on her first day in school. Table 6.1 (Chapter 6) presents the children visiting the highest number of domains as Shamaila (13) followed by Shazad (12), Sumera (11) and Imran (10).

7.10 Ishtiaq's Story

Ishtiaq is older than the two girls when he starts at the nursery. On his first day he is aged four years and seven months (4.7). He begins nursery in October, almost a month later than the girls. He arrives at school at 13.00 hours with his aunt. He is met by the Bilingual Classroom Assistant (T4), who greets him in Mirpuri-Panjabi and takes him to play in Domain 18 (Activity 1) the Pretend Kitchen. There he meets three other Mirpuri-Panjabi speaking children, two girls Shazia (SA) and Rabila (RN) and a boy Mushtifaq (MI). All four role play together with T4 for a sustained period of twenty minutes. The role play takes a variety of forms. They pretend to read a menu, they play at preparing food, cutting up a banana and talk on a variety of topics, including the fruit, the news and their homes. The language throughout is Mirpuri-Punjabi.

The activity ends when the teacher (T4) moves away to another domain. Ishtiaq, Mushtifaq and Shazia all follow her to Domain 12, the Wet Sand Area (Activity 2). She eventually leaves them in this domain. Once she has left they do not attempt to

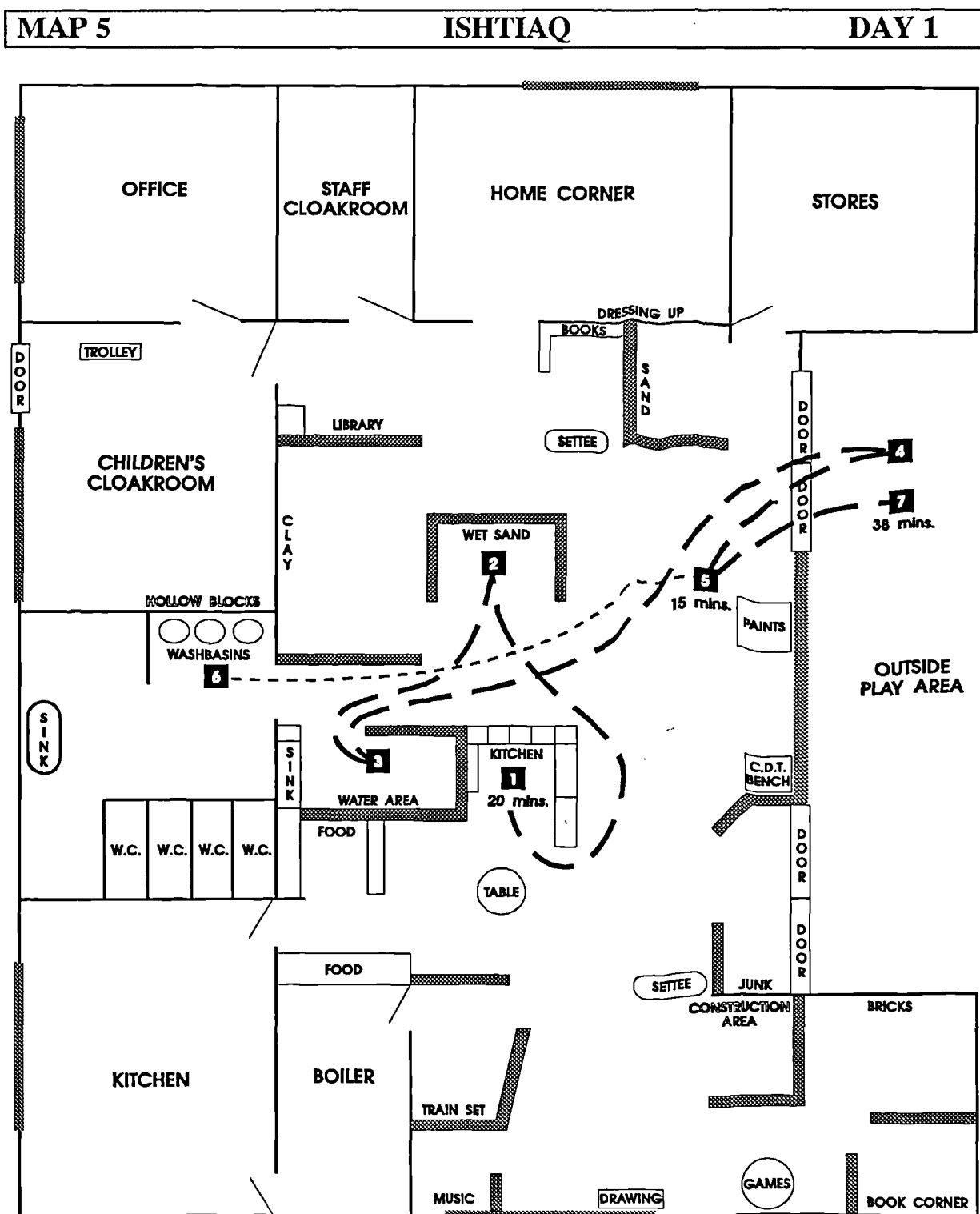
speak to each other or to play in the sand. Ishtiaq pushes Mushtifaq and without speaking he moves away to the play area opposite, Domain 14, the Water Area (Activity 3). Again without speaking, the other children follow. After only one minute Ishtiaq moves again. This time he goes outside (Activity 4). He returns almost immediately and as he passes the Painting Table (Domain 9) Teacher 1 says in English:

T1: you're all going to paint

Transcript 3 Line 37

Whereupon Ishtiaq joins the painting group where he stays for a sustained period of fifteen minutes (Activity 5). When he has finished his painting, he goes to the washbasins (with the other children) to wash his hands, his paintbrush and to help with the general tidying up (Activity 6). Ishtiaq hangs up his painting overall in Domain 9 and then goes outside to join Teacher 3 and a large group of other children. He stays there playing on a variety of apparatus for thirty-eight minutes (Activity 7). He leaves to go home, before the afternoon ends officially, when a relative calls to collect him.

Ishtiaq has spent his first day at the nursery on a total of six different learning domains, three of which he sustained for significant periods of time. Some of the activities Ishtiaq chose for himself and some were chosen for him by teachers. The majority of his interactions with peers and adults were in Mirpuri-Panjabi. The language of these interactions will be discussed in detail in Chapters 9 and 10. Ishtiaq spent some of his time in the company of others, both teachers and peers. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. Only six of the twenty-eight domains were visited. Figure 7.4 presents the map of Ishtiaq's first hour in the nursery school.



Activity 1	Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Transient Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 14	Water Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 7	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 38 minutes

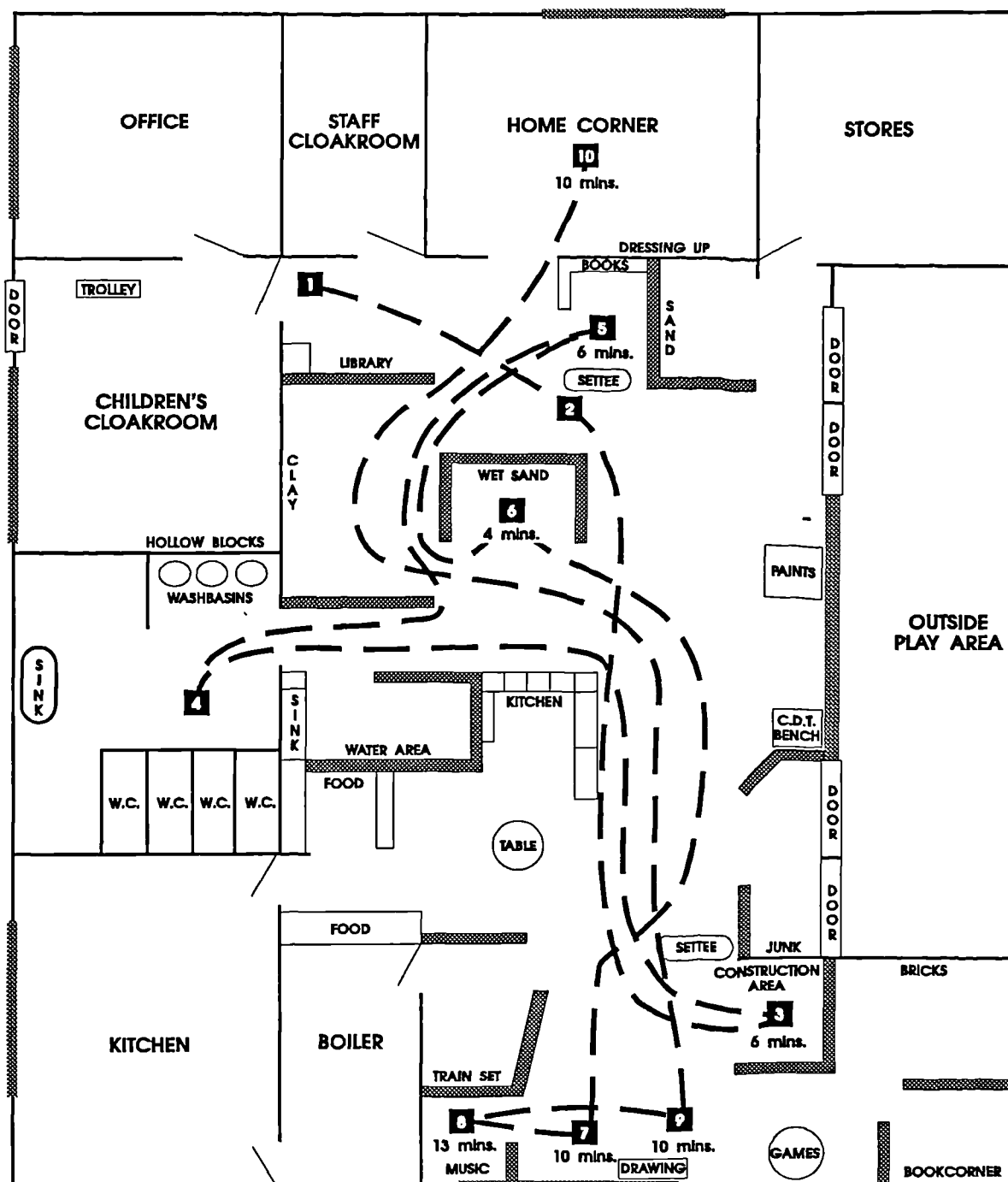
Figure 7.4 A map of Ishtiaq's movements on his first day in Box Hill Nursery

7.11 Imran's Story

Imran is aged four years and three months (4.3). Like Ishtiaq he is a little older than the girls when he starts at the nursery. On the first day, he arrives a little after the beginning of the session. All of the afternoon's activities have begun and all of the teachers are already working with children in small groups. He arrives with his mother and she leaves almost immediately. He is left alone. He walks around the corridors where two other boys, Geoffrey and Michael are playing with building bricks (Activity 1). There is the sound of banging. T4 talks to them, in English, as she walks by:

Biling T4: come on all play together
Transcript 1 Line 2

Imran does not join them, he continues walking around the corridors. The Bilingual Classroom Assistant (T4) is reading a story in Panjabi to a small group of bilingual children in the book corner (Domain 6). Imran hears her voice and stops. He continues to stand within hearing distance of the story but does not actually go into the domain (Activity 2). Although this activity lasts for some five minutes, it has been categorised as Transient Behaviour because he does not actually enter the domain where the story telling session is in progress. He stays outside the domain, walking around the screens. However, it is clear from his audio-tape for this session that he can hear the story. Why he does not join the group is unclear. He seems very shy and is clearly unsure. He continues to move slowly around the corridor but is still listening to the story. The teacher cannot see him because she is sitting down inside the domain. There is the general classroom hubbub all around him. He whispers to himself in Mirpuri-Panjabi. Azia, one of the girls who is taking part in the story session gets up and leaves the domain. She goes up to Imran and takes him by the hand. They do not speak but they continue to stand outside the book corner, listening to the story (Activity 2). Teacher 5 calls Azia from Domain 21 the Construction Area.



Activity 1	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 21	Construction Area	Sustained Behaviour for 6 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 17	WCs	Functional Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 6 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 23	Music	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes
Activity 9	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes
Activity 10	Domain 5	Home Corner	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes

Figure 7.5 A map of Imran's movements on his first day at Box Hill Nursery

Hand-in-hand, Imran and Azia join her. Imran stays in the construction area with Azia for six minutes (Activity 3). He is playing with the apparatus and making playing sounds to himself. The Construction Area is positioned next to the musical instruments. There are some children playing there and the sound of the musical instruments is quite clear. He begins singing quietly to himself. Azia then speaks to him in Mirpuri-Panjabi. The bricks that they have been building fall over. They continue talking in Panjabi and go to the toilets (Activity 4, Domain 17). They move on when prompted by the teacher:

T1: come on you two out you come
Transcript 1 Line 35

They continue talking to each other and return to Domain 6 the Book Corner (Activity 5). They sit down and Imran picks up a picture book (The Bad Tempered Lady Bird) and 'pretends' to read it. He is demonstrating early reading behaviour, holding the book correctly, turning over the pages, and storying to himself. Azia is also in the book corner, she is tidying the bookshelves. After three minutes at this activity they are interrupted:

T1: go and play in the sand or in the water
Azia: I want to do
Transcript 1 Lines 39-40

Azia is anxious to please the teacher. She and Imran then go off together to the Wet Sand Area (Activity 6, Domain 12). Azia does not go into the domain with him. He stays there, playing alone, talking to himself and making playing sounds quietly. After four minutes he leaves and spends a few minutes walking slowly around the nursery, stopping from time time time outside domains and watching from outside but not attempting to join in.

Imran arrives at the Drawing Table (Activity 7, Domain 24) where he sees Azia again. She is sitting with Kamran another bilingual child and two adults (T2 and T4)

are talking nearby. Imran joins them and stays for ten minutes, drawing, pretend writing (scribble writing) and folding pieces of paper. T4 joins them. She asks in English (Transcript 1 Lines 62-69):

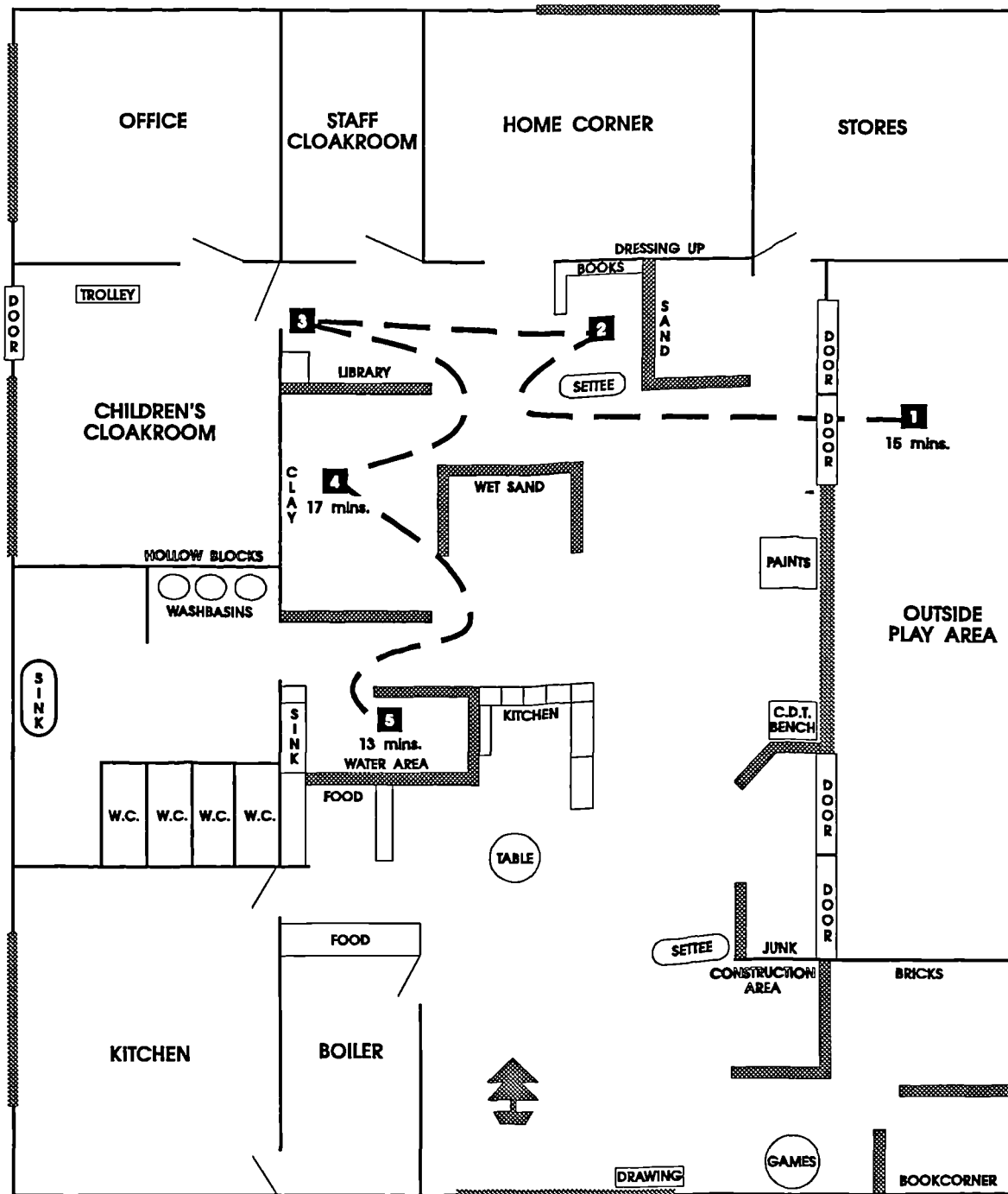
62 Biling T4: nearly finished
 63 (classroom noise)
 64 Azia: *Panjabi*
 65 Biling T4: ///
 66 Imran: *Panjabi*
 67 Biling T4: can you write Kamran, this is the way I write it, can you go over this
 68 ...writing
 69 Imran: ///

Imran makes an inaudible response and then he leaves and walks back to the Music Domain, where he is joined by Azia and Kamran after a short time (Activity 8). They stay there for thirteen minutes in sustained play activity. As a group all three then go back to the drawing table where T4 is working with another girl. They continue with drawing activities for ten minutes (Activity 9) before moving again as a group to the final sustained activity of the afternoon, Domain 5 the Home Corner (Activity 10).

7.12 Changes in Behaviour During the First Term

The changes that take place in observed behaviour over the first term in the nursery are illustrated clearly when comparing maps of first and last day observations. Figure 7.5 is a map of Imran's first day in Box Hill Nursery and Figure 7.6 a map of Imran's movements around the nursery at the end of the term. The differences observed can be characterised as follows:

1. There is a reduction in the amount of time spent on transient movements around the corridors and learning domains.
2. The number of transient activities observed is also reduced as the term progresses.
3. There is a consolidation of interests. Fewer learning domains are visited. For Imran this is reduced from a total of ten activities on the first day, to five at the end of term.
4. More time is actually spent on each of the sustained activities.



Activity 1	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 6	Books	Related Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 3	Library	Functional Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 13	Clay	Sustained Behaviour for 17 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes

Figure 7.6 A map of Imran's movements at the end of the first term in Box Hill Nursery

This pattern can be observed across all of the children in the study. First day and end of term maps for all informants can be found in Appendix B. It is not considered useful to offer averages for the time spent on tasks because this alters the record of time that individual children actually spend on sustained activities by reducing it. An average presents a different profile of behaviour.

7.13 Summary

The following summarise the main points of this chapter:

1. Discourse can be mapped to combine discourse and contextual data and provide a social context.
2. By considering individual pupil's time on task in this way, it can be seen that accounting for the time spent engaged in learning activities, is more complex than the cognitive complexity or other inherent qualities of the activities.
3. There is a social dimension to time on task which encourages individual children to spend sustained periods of time on the task.

The data from the Box Hill Nursery Study has shown that individual children spend varying amounts of time on selected learning activities and that this behaviour changes during their first term in the nursery school. Four types of behaviours have been observed. These are: Functional, Related, Sustained and Transient. They can be represented by the acronym FiRST.

Analysis suggests contextual features can influence time on task. These contextual features offer a number of plausible explanatory factors for the time an individual child spends engaged in a particular learning activity. They include the physical structure of the nursery which can provide a supportive context for nurturing

particular types of learning and personal behaviour and the presence of certain individuals, a teacher, adult or other children, as possible influencing factors. These can act as attraction factors and result in the child spending more sustained periods of time on task.

In summary two suggestions are offered. Firstly, that time on task is not *per se* necessarily the only indicator of the validity of a learning activity. Secondly, that the cognitive complexity of the learning activity is not the only reason for a child to spend a sustained period of time on task. It is suggested that there is a social dimension to learning activities. This social dimension, or interactions with teacher and peers provides a reason for why the children chose to spend their time on selected learning activities in the nursery. It is equally as plausible an explanatory factor as the cognitive complexity or challenge of the learning activity in which they are engaged. This feature will be explored and developed in later chapters.

Finally, it has been suggested that collecting continuous discourse has certain advantages over time-sampled discourse as a source of data. It provides a description of the total linguistic environment as experienced by the individual carrying the recording equipment. This includes a number of contextual details including information about the other people present in the nursery. This aspect of the setting will be the focus for the third level of descriptive analysis.

CHAPTER 8

**SOCIAL NETWORKS &
THE PROCESS OF ENCULTURATION**

The Soul selects her own Society

Emily Dickinson

Poem No. 303

CHAPTER 8 - SOCIAL NETWORKS & THE PROCESS OF ENCULTURATION

8.0 Introduction to Level 3 of Data Analysis

Chapter 8 addresses a third level of data analysis. Using social network analysis as a research method, discourse and *thick* (Geertz, 1975) contextual data will be combined to demonstrate the ways in which the children in the study establish contact with each other (and other pupils) during their first term in the nursery setting. These first day contacts will be compared with end of term contacts to demonstrate the ways in which an individual's ties become established as the term progresses. Analysis will trace the emergence of two types of networks, *pupil networks* and *friendship networks*. It will be suggested that the presence of adults (teachers and bilingual classroom assistants) exert an influence on the establishment and consolidation of these networks and that the basis of the children's developing ethnicity can be found in these emerging networks. The chapter begins with an overview of social network analysis as a theoretical framework for data analysis.

8.1 The Concept of Social Network Analysis as a Research Method

Social network analysis is an established paradigm within sociolinguistics and anthropology. The idea of social network as an analytic concept was originally introduced by Barnes (1954) to describe an order of social relationship which he considered to be important for understanding the behaviour of the inhabitants of the Norwegian village of Bremnes. He felt that a great deal of social behaviour could not be accounted for by concepts based on an individual's status, territorial location or economic activity alone. A number of researchers have since used the concept of social network analysis. It has been defined by Milroy (1980:174) as 'quite simply ... the informal social relationships contracted by an individual' and by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116) as:

those structural complexes within communities made up of chains and criss-crossings of friendship, relationship and acquaintanceship to which each of us belong.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116)

A social network may be regarded as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole community, linking people to one another. The individual remains the locus of the network, hence social networks are anchored to individuals. Tajfel (1981:135) suggests that this 'social categorisation is a cognitive tool which allows individuals to define and organise their social world into meaningful units'. Individuals use social categories to order their social environment. It is a means by which individuals make sense of the world around them and their experiences within it. This view corresponds with a general view of learning held by others, for example, social psychologists including Bruner (1986) and Bruner & Haste (1987) who claim the social dimension is an important and central factor in young children's learning processes. Systemic linguists (cf Halliday, 1978) also support the view that young children learn to mean by engaging in conversation with others.

There are specific reasons that make social network analysis a particularly suitable research method for the Box Hill Nursery Project. Milroy (1980) suggests that the network concept is a principle capable of universal application and is hence less ethnocentric than other descriptions of social groupings for example, class or caste. This reinforces it as a research method that is particularly suitable for describing the social behaviour of a group (or community) when the researcher is not a member of that community. It also makes it appropriate for the study of clearly definable communities, like the major linguistic and ethnic minority communities now established and permanently settled in Britain. A fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence

(Mitchell, 1989:74). This focus makes social network analysis useful for observing the enculturation process as experienced by individuals in new social settings.

Established researchers indicate their approval of social network analysis. Although it was not the research method used by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller in their description of Creole based languages and ethnicity, in retrospect they state:

had we been familiar with the concept of networks when we planned our survey, we might well have used it ourselves.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116).

From the numerous studies to use social network analysis as a research method to date, two types of network ties have been identified. Boissevain (1974) describes and exemplifies procedures used to analyse personal networks in terms of *dense* or *multiplex ties*. These correspond approximately to the *first order zones* and *second order zones* described by Barnes (1954). These dense or first order zone ties are those which individuals make through direct, personal contact. By comparison with dense, first order zones, the multiplex, second order zones are more loosely formed. They typically involve larger numbers of individuals; they include fewer personal contacts, and are usually made for a variety of functional purposes, for example, negotiating transactions and getting things done.

Social Network Analysis is also an established methodology in sociolinguistics. A number of studies have adopted it as part of their methodology. Apart from the early studies by Gumperz (1976), Milroy's (1980) Belfast study is perhaps the most widely known. Agnihotri's (1979) sociolinguistic study of Sikh children in Leeds is a rare example of the method used for describing young children's networks. Hence it can be seen that social network analysis is an established methodological paradigm in sociolinguistic and anthropological studies. It is regarded as an acceptable alternative

to the social or economic groupings used by other researchers including Labov (1981) and Bernstein (1971).

There are a number of ways already established for quantifying social network ties. Milroy (1980: Chapter 1) outlines a six point scale indexed from 0 to 5, in which each individual is assigned a score at some point on the scale. The scale is constructed with reference to key indicators of relative multiplexity and density. This is a method that has also been used by Li Wei (1994). Using this index, individuals are assigned a numerical score, called a network score. In comparison to Milroy's approach, Gal (1979) uses a much more straightforward measure based on the actual number of contacts a speaker makes within a given observation period. Her approach is endorsed by Gumperz (1976:14) who points out that personal network structure is influenced by a very large number of factors and that it is very unlikely that any investigation will be able to identify all of these, let alone measure them. His view suggests that the numerical approach favoured by Milroy (1980) can only be partial. The analytical approach adopted for this study therefore, is closer to the less complex numerical approaches favoured by Gal (1979) and Gumperz (1976).

Previous studies have established a number of ways for presenting an individual's social networks. Two examples of these diagrammatic representations are presented. Figure 8.1 shows the approach favoured by Milroy's for demonstrating high density personal network structures that show first and second order zones. While Figure 8.2 shows a different approach, used again by Milroy, for illustrating an individual's social network ties. Figure 8.2 is a portion of the data (a Clonard network) from Milroy's Belfast study (Milroy, 1980).

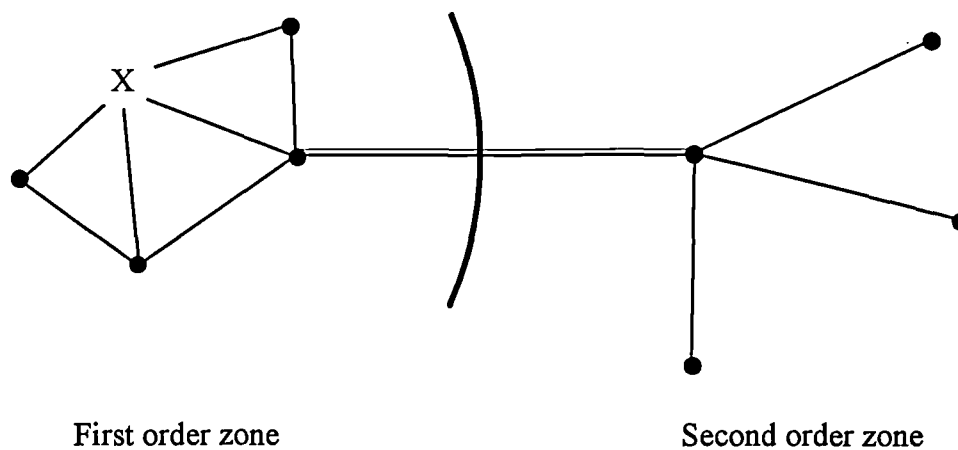


Figure 8.1 High-density personal network structure, showing first and second order zones with X as the focal point of the network (Milroy, 1980:48).

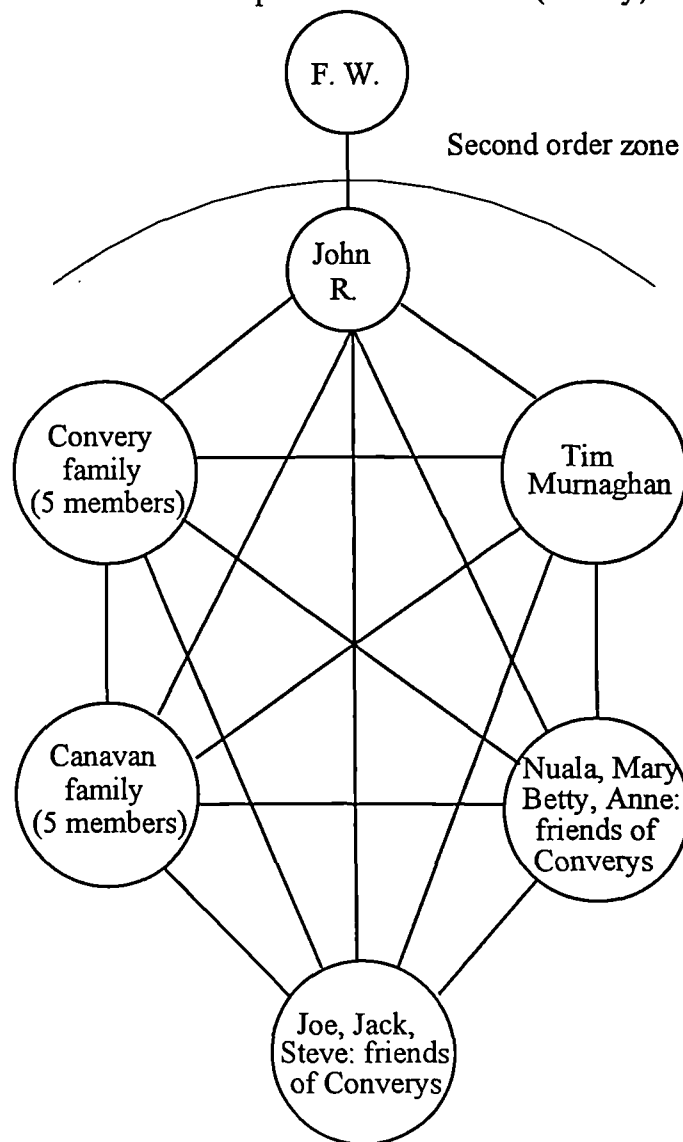


Figure 8.2 A social network analysis from Milroy's Belfast Study (Milroy, 1980:58).

The Box Hill Nursery data have been collected with a focus on individual behaviour. This method has been selected in preference to other available methods (cf Kenny & la Voie, 1984 as reported in Dunn, 1993:08), because it holds the individual, rather than the group, as the focus of the observations.

8.2 Analysis of the Social Networks in Box Hill Nursery

This third level of analysis continues towards a micro level analysis with a description of the contacts or ties formed by the children during their first days in the nursery school and the ways in which these ties become established during the first term in school. The aim is to describe in greater detail, the characteristic features of the formal and informal situations (in the learning domains) where individual informants spend a sustained period of time on task (as presented in Chapter 6 & 7), with a view to understanding individual's observed behaviour more fully. This level of description will enhance the previous analyses of time on task which suggest that the inherent cognitive complexity of learning activities cannot alone account for some children spending sustained periods of time engaged in these tasks. It will be suggested that there is a social dimension to the time on task phenomena. Further, it will be suggested that certain individuals act as, what will be termed an *attraction factor* for some children. The presence of specific individuals at a particular learning activity will attract learners to that activity and their continued presence will account, in part, for a period of sustained engagement on the task. Analysis will demonstrate that the presence of specific individuals acts as an attraction factor thus ensuring sustained engagement in selected learning activities for some of the children. It will be argued that this represents a social dimension to sustained time on task activities. The presence of an attraction factor can in part account for the sustained periods of time spent on selected tasks as presented in the time on task data analysis (Chapter 6).

Analysis of the data has been carried out in the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Recurring patterns of behaviour (or codes) have been identified from

close scrutiny of the data from two of the children, a girl Shamaila and a boy Ishtiaq. These codes have been used as the analytical framework for the data from all eight informants. Case studies of these two informants will be presented to exemplify the patterns of observed behaviour. Analysis focuses on two aspects:

i) the individuals who are in close proximity to the child being observed, ie those people (adults and children) who are nearby and available for interaction. These are termed *potential participants* and

ii) those individuals with whom interaction(s) are observed and recorded. These individuals have been selected from the group of potential participants for interaction. They are therefore regarded as *preferred participants*.

Previous studies have established conventions for demonstrating social network ties. These have been illustrated in Figures 8.1 and 8.2. For this study, an alternative method of diagrammatic representation has been devised in an attempt to illustrate more clearly, the membership of the types of networks identified. By presenting the data in this new way it is also possible to illustrate the (small) degree of movement, by individuals, between the networks. This movement helps to show the ways in which new contacts are made and how they are developed in the new social situation of the nursery classroom. The diagrammatic representation devised also makes it easier to demonstrate the place of the developing networks described in the nursery setting, within the hierarchy of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Framework. This will be presented in detail in Chapter 11.

For each of the eight informants included in this study, social networks will be presented for each of the activities in which they were observed during their first day in school. A comparative set of data will be presented for the informants at the end of their first term in the nursery. This will add a further level of analysis to those

previously presented and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Data sets of the social network analyses for all of the eight informants can be found in Appendix III The Social Network Analysis Data, together with a key identifying all of the individuals (teachers and children) included in the analyses.

8.3 Ishtiaq's Social Networks

Analysis begins with a description of Ishtiaq's social networks. Figure 8.3 shows a diagrammatic representation of Ishtiaq's first encounters in the nursery school.

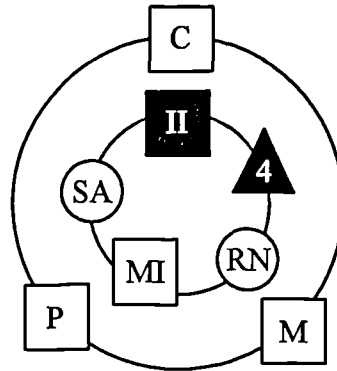


Figure 8.3 A Social Network Analysis for Ishtiaq's first activity in Box Hill Nursery

For each activity two social networks are shown. The inner circle corresponds to Boissevain's (1974) multiples ties and Barnes' (1954) first order zones. The informant being observed, Ishtiaq himself, is represented at the centre of this network by the symbol **II**. The outer circle corresponds to what Boissevain (1974) calls multiplex ties and Barnes (1954) calls second order zones.

The inner circle will be termed the *dense network* and the outer circle, the *loose network*. The loose network represents individuals, pupils and teachers, who are present in or near a particular learning domain and who, by their presence and proximity are available for interaction. These represent a group of *potential participants*, defined as those individuals who are present and potentially available to

participate in activities and/or interactions. They are available to initiate interactions with Ishtiaq and/or to respond to his.

In the social network diagrams, girl participants are represented by the symbol ○ and boys by □. Individual children are identified by their initials, for example II is Ishtiaq. Teachers (and other adults) are represented by triangular symbols, △, numbered 1 to 7. Bilingual teachers are shown as ▲. Not all are necessarily present in the nursery on each day of observation.

Figure 8.4 is the social network analysis for Ishtiaq's encounters during his second learning activity.

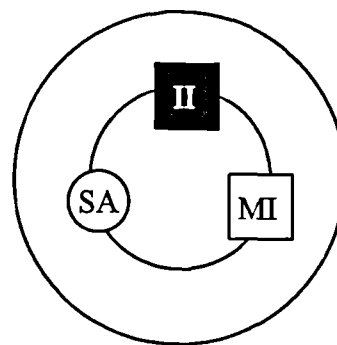


Figure 8.4 A Social Network Analysis for Ishtiaq's second activity in Box Hill Nursery

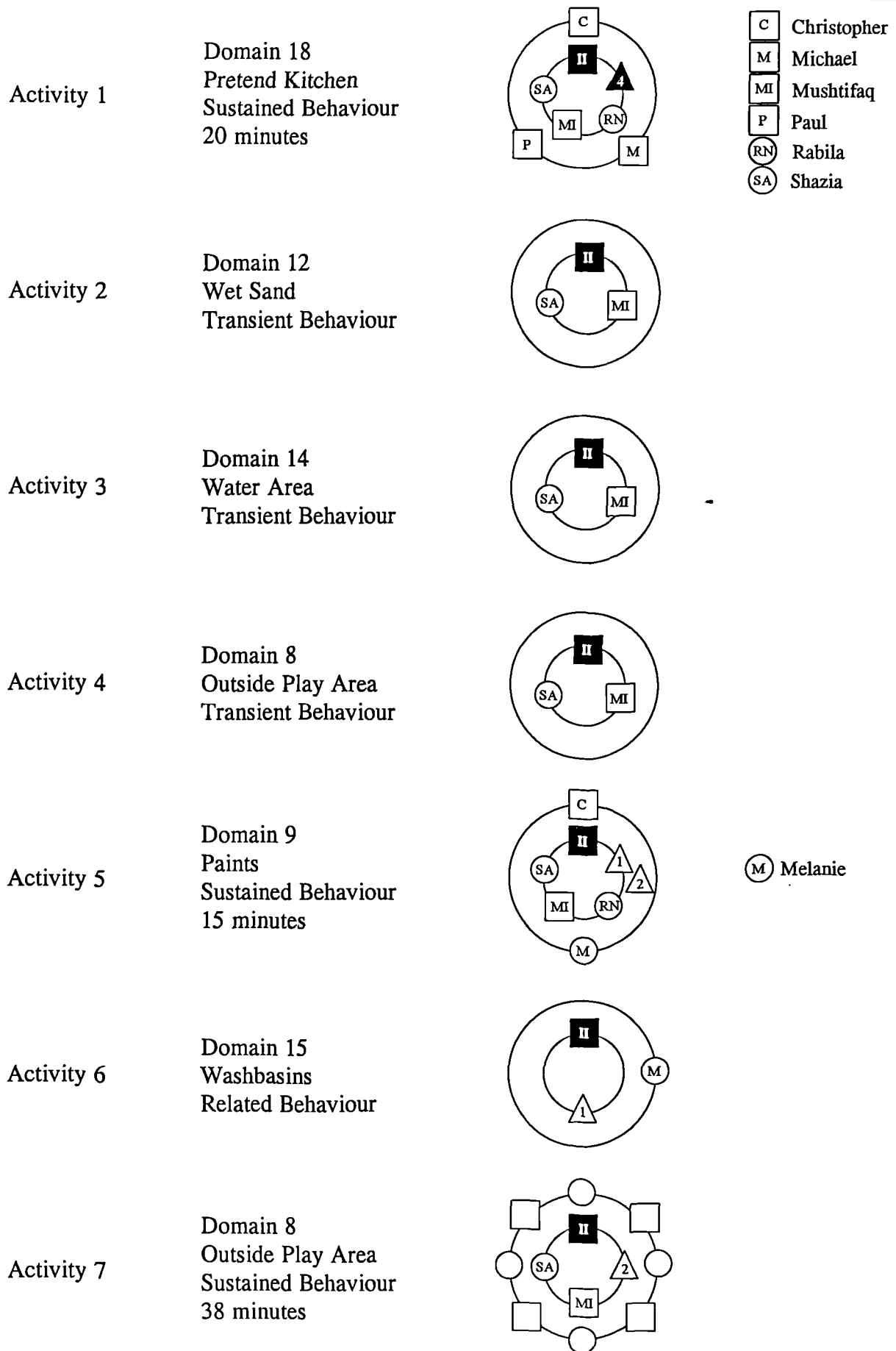
The inner circle represents the dense network of participants with whom verbal interaction(s) are recorded on the audio tapes and/or non-verbal interactions recorded on the observation schedule. These individuals (SA) (MI) are drawn into the dense network from the loose network of potential participants either because they initiate verbal or non-verbal interaction with Ishtiaq or because he initiates (or attempts to initiate) interaction with them. To be included in this dense network therefore, individuals have to interact verbally or non-verbally with the informant.

This level of data analysis enhances the previous analysis of discourse presented in Chapter 7 by identifying specific individuals, including both teachers and fellow pupils with whom interaction takes place. Chapter 6 provides a comprehensive overview of one hour in the nursery. This analysis focuses more specifically on the micro level activities within individual learning domains.

Figure 8.5 presents the analyses for each of the learning activities in which Ishtiaq is engaged during his first hour in the nursery. Analysis illustrates the emergence of two types of social network: the loose, outer *pupil network* and the dense, inner *friendship network*.

8.4 Loose Pupil Networks

These loose networks will be termed *pupil networks*. Pupils come together in these pupil networks for specific group activities which are often teacher led. Examples of pupil networks include occasions when all of the children in the nursery come together in a joint activity. Story time and singing activities are just two examples. However, pupil networks are not always large groupings. The painting activity with Teacher 1 (Figure 8.5 Activity 5) and playing in the pretend kitchen (Figure 8.5 Activity 1) are just two examples of smaller groupings of pupil networks. All of the teachers feature as key participants in the networks of the children. However, they have not been included in the dense networks because the nature of the child-teacher interactions differ in a number of ways from the child-child interactions. It can be seen from the data from all informants that the teachers play a significant role in maintaining interest in a learning activity. (Detailed analysis of the language within the social networks will be the focus of Chapter 9 and 10).



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

Figure 8.5 A social network analysis for Ishtiaq's first day in Box Hill Nursery

In the pupil network, individuals participate in the common learning activity, for example, painting, making a calendar, listening to a story etc. They participate as pupils. Characteristic features of this pupil network include the nature of the recorded interactions. These usually reflect their participation in the learning activity in their role as pupils. Interactions are made for functional rather than social purposes. The following extracts of interaction between members of a pupil network illustrates this functional interaction:

Shamaila:	tidy up	Transcript 7 Line 189
Kamran:	brown, move your hand	Transcript 1 Line 84

The topic of their exchange relates to their participation in the learning activity as pupils. They talk about the activity in which they are engaged. They interact for the purpose of getting things done.

These interactions are interesting in their own right as evidence of interaction between children within the pupil network. However, they are also of further significance. They are evidence of the individual's developing communicative competence. They demonstrate the ways in which the children are learning to behave appropriately as pupils. However, these initial contacts are also important for other reasons. They are significant because they frequently form the basis of more enduring contacts between individuals. For example, Ishtiaq's friendship ties with Mushtifaq and Shazia are begun in the very first hour in the nursery. Initial ties were formed through participation as pupils in a teacher directed learning activity (Figure 8.5 Activity 1) in the pretend kitchen (Domain 18). During the first hour in the nursery, it can be seen from Figure 8.5 that these contacts are maintained as the three children (Ishtiaq, Mushtifaq and Shazia) move from one activity to another together in a small group. In this way it can be seen that children come into initial contact as pupils, and these initial contacts with selected individuals become consolidated into friendship ties over a period of time (that is, during the first term in the nursery).

The focus of the pupil network groupings is frequently a teaching function. It can be seen that these groupings are strongly teacher influenced. On arrival in the nursery the first encounter for most of the pupils is with a teacher, as the following extract from the transcripts demonstrate:

T5: what a pretty coat
 Biling T7: come and leave it here, is that alright like that
Transcript 6 Lines 1-2

T3: Shamaila, hang your coat up please,
 you put this one on
Transcript 7 Lines 1-2

From these initial greetings, the children are initiated into the routines of the nursery with the person who brings them to school. They are shown where to hang their coat, how to register and collect their name card from a board, as well as a number of other activities that they are expected to perform on their arrival in the nursery each day. Sometimes engagement in these activities leads to encounters with other pupils or teachers. Teachers are alert to the arrival of newcomers and are constantly on the look out for ways of involving them in ongoing activities.

Teachers deliberately select individuals for inclusion in a particular activity, as the following extracts from the transcripts demonstrate:

Biling T4: sit down here Natalie, you sit down here
Transcript 3 Line 25
 T1 : (to Rabila) come on let's go for a walk
Transcript 5 Line 5
 T3: come on you play as well, come on Kamran, all play
 together
Transcript 4 Line 37

There is a second type of grouping observed, a dense network.

8.5 Dense Friendship Networks

Children's membership of the dense friendship network is defined in terms of three factors:

- i) the number of interactions recorded between individuals
- ii) the initiator of the interaction
- iii) the topic of the exchange.

In Figure 8.5 it is possible to observe an emerging pattern of selected individuals who move from the loose pupil network into the dense inner network to become preferred participants. Attention is drawn to Activities 1, 5 and 7, all of which are periods of sustained time on task. During these activities the recurring presence of two participants, a boy Mushtifaq MI and a girl Shazia SA is observed. These two preferred participants have emerged from the loose, pupil network to enter Ishtiaq's dense network of close ties. Preferred participants can be described as those individuals with whom interactions (as previously defined) are sought and maintained. This dense network of close ties is termed the *friendship network*. It differs from the pupil network where the children come together (or more accurately are brought together by a teacher) for the purpose of a particular learning and/or teaching activity.

Figure 8.6 shows the social network analysis of Ishtiaq at the end of the first term. The recurring presence of the same two participants, Mushtifaq and Shazia, confirm their position in Ishtiaq's dense friendship network. They have moved from the loose pupil network to the dense network of close ties. They have become friends. The friendship network comprises close ties with only a small number of preferred participants. These are the individuals with whom interaction is preferred and even sought. The movement from the pupil network to the friendship network occurs over the first term in the nursery. However, it can be seen from the data that the origins of the dense friendship network can actually be traced back to the very first hour in the

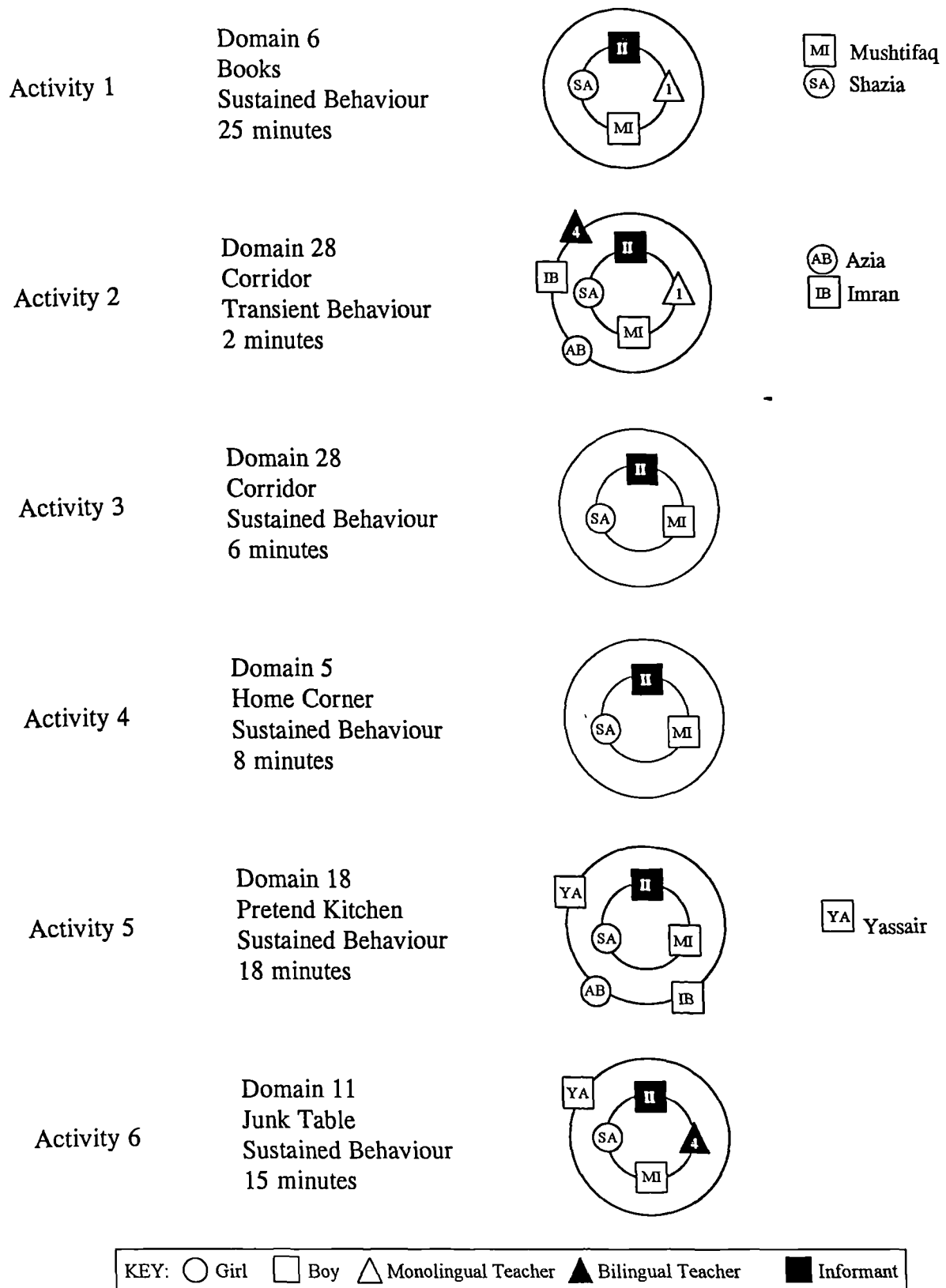


Figure 8.6 A Social Network Analysis for Ishtiaq at the end of the first term in Box Hill Nursery

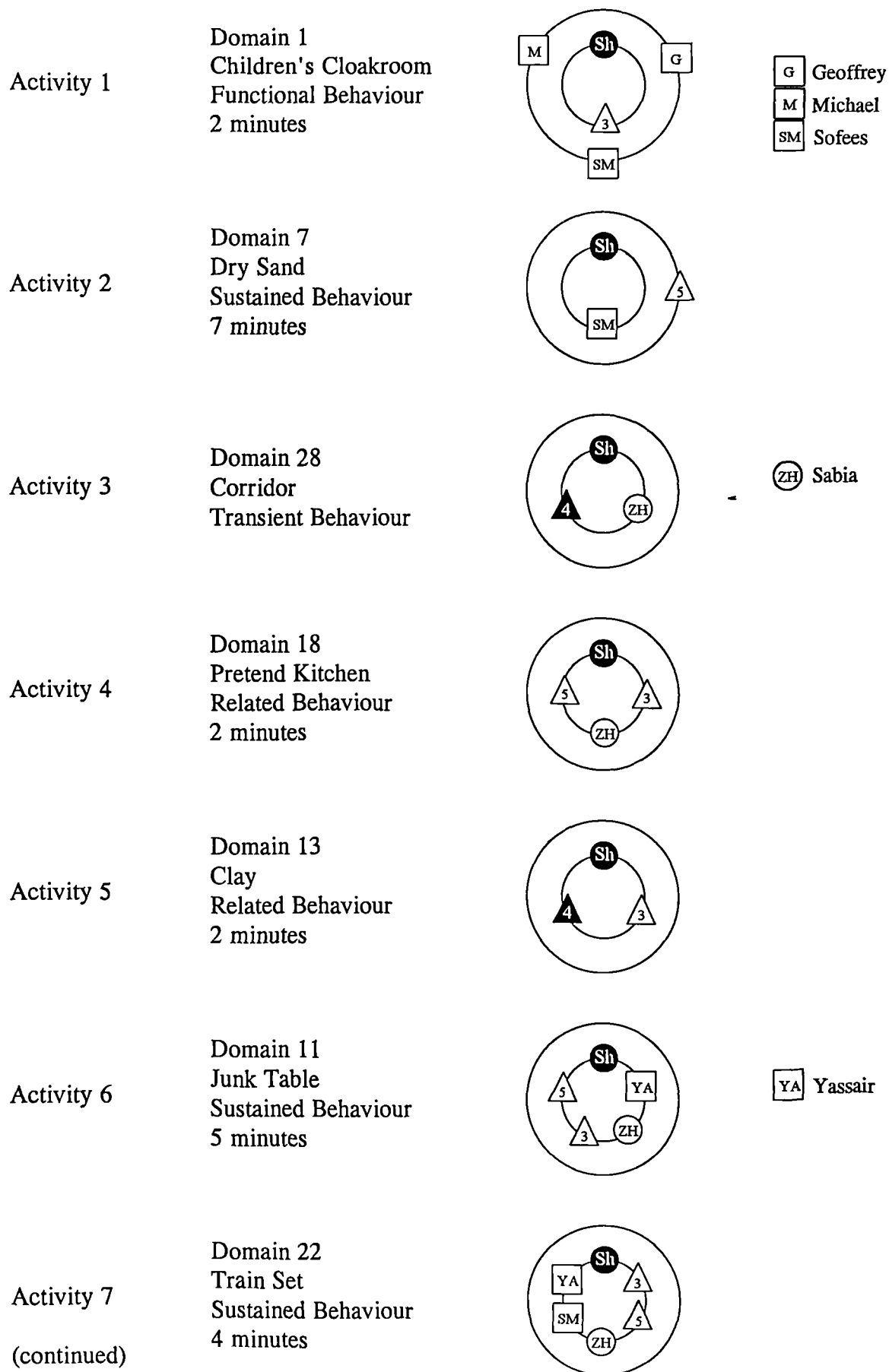
nursery, when the teacher brings these children together, in a group as pupils on a joint learning activity.

Not all ties progress from the loose pupil network to the dense friendship network. It can therefore be inferred that a selection process is operating. Individuals select, preferred participants from the loose pupil network for inclusion in their dense friendship network. This pattern of an emerging dense friendship network comprising selected individuals from the loose pupil network, can be observed across the data from all of the eight informants. The significance of this selection (ie their choices) will become apparent when the overview of the data from all of the eight informants is presented in Table 8.1 in the form of a table of preferred participants.

8.6 Shamaila's Social Networks

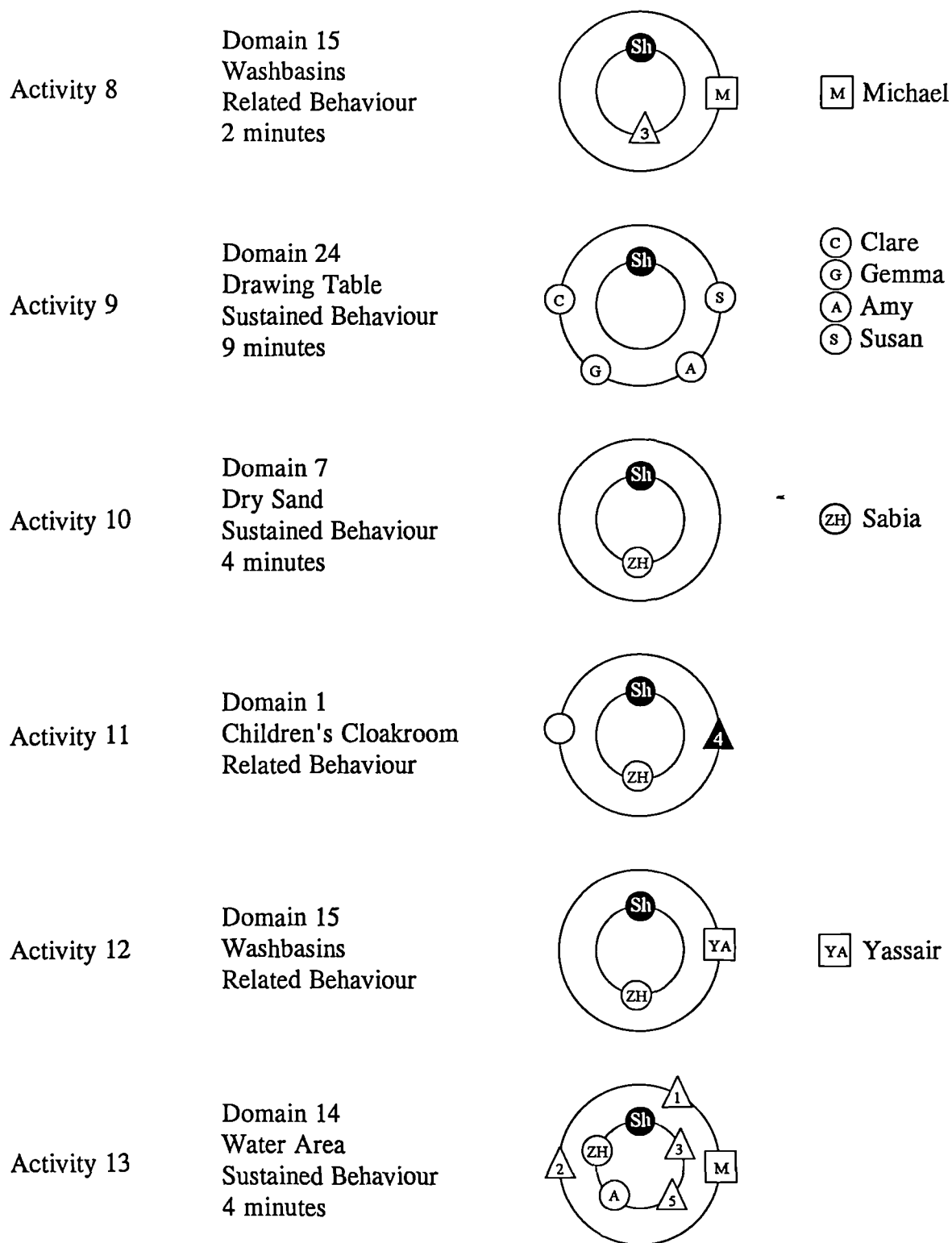
Figure 8.7 presents a social network analysis of those present during the activities in which Shamaila was engaged during her first hour in school. Patterns observed in the social networks for Shamaila confirm the emergence of two types of networks, the pupil network and the friendship network.

Closer examination of the individuals in the friendship network reveals the recurring presence of specific individuals Sabia (SH) and Sofees [SM]. This friendship network comprises boy and girl peers as well as teachers. The presence of the adults and peers can be explained in different ways. Upon arrival at school Shamaila encounters a group of three children, all boys; Geoffrey [G], Michael [M] and Sofees [SM] and a monolingual teacher \triangle_3 . The teacher is the only one with whom interaction occurs and, not surprisingly, the interaction is teacher initiated. English is the language of the interaction:



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Figure 8.7a A social network analysis for Shamaila's first day in Box Hill Nursery (Part 1)



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Figure 8.7b A social network analysis for Shamaila's first day in Box Hill Nursery (Part 2)

T3: Hello Shamaila, hang your coat up please,
you put this one on,
you go and play

Transcript 7 Line 1-3.

At this point, I should like to focus on the peers present in the friendship networks. Sofees \boxed{SM} and Shamaila \textcircled{Sh} move to the Dry Sand domain together to work with another monolingual teacher \triangle_5 on a structured play activity which lasts for seven minutes. When they have completed this task they leave together. In the corridor (Activity 3) Shamaila meets Sabia \textcircled{ZH} . Here again we see an initial contact begun within the loose pupil network. However, it soon progresses and becomes established as a dense friendship network tie.

From Day 1, these two children, Sofees and Sabia are frequently found in Shamaila's dense network. This emerging network begins within the first hour at school and is consolidated over the first term. This is presented in Figure 8.8 the social network analyses for Day 2 activities, the end of the first term in school.

A similar pattern can be observed for all of the other informants in the study.

One of the stated aims of the Box Hill Nursery Study is to observe and record the process of enculturation which the pupils experience as they begin formal education in the nursery as a linguistic minority group. Enculturation has been described as:

learning one's place within the group, learning one's rights and responsibilities; it is the process of learning the whole complex of meanings that defines the social reality of the group and the rules which allow a newcomer to function

Lubeck (1985:13).

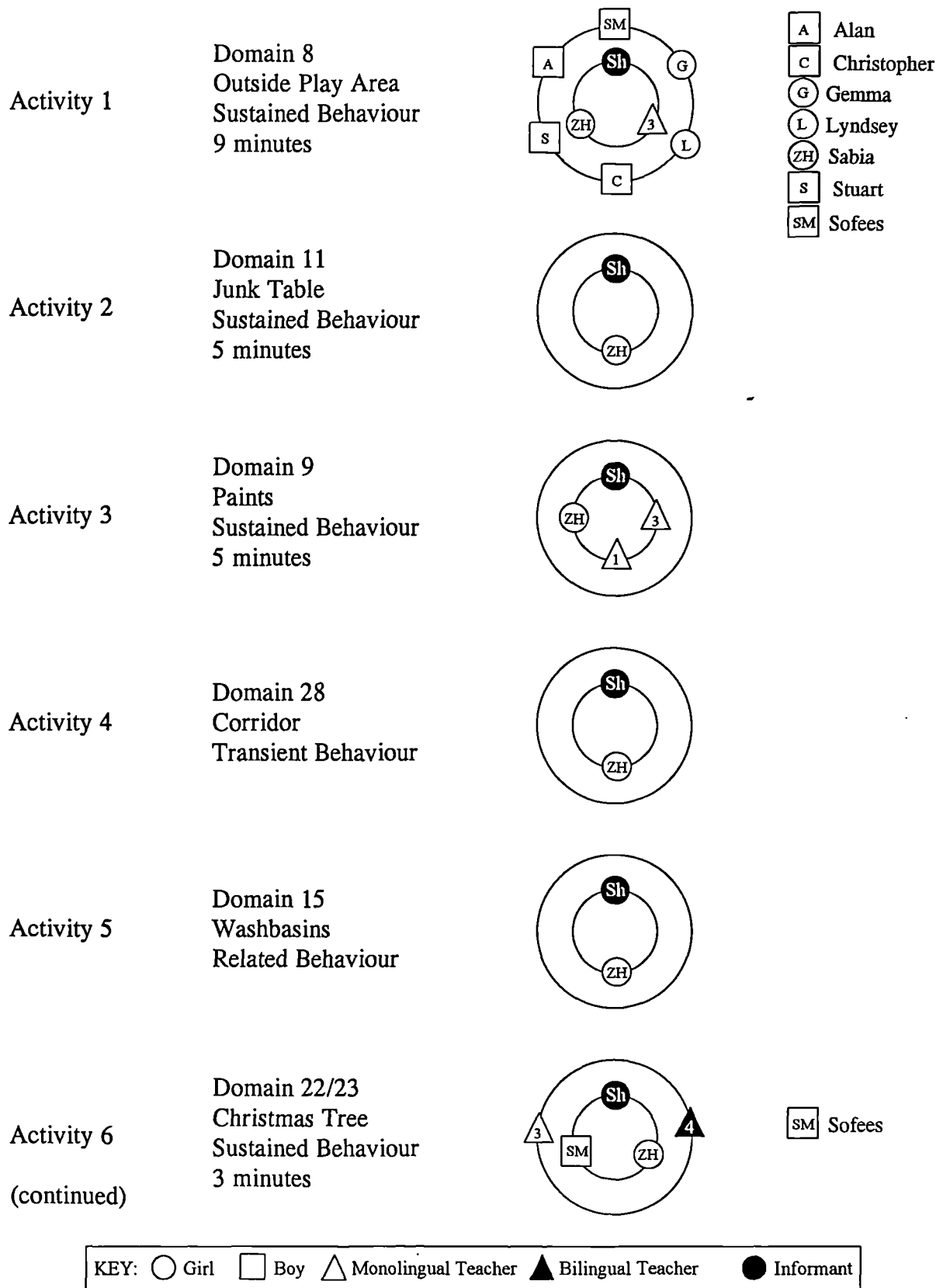
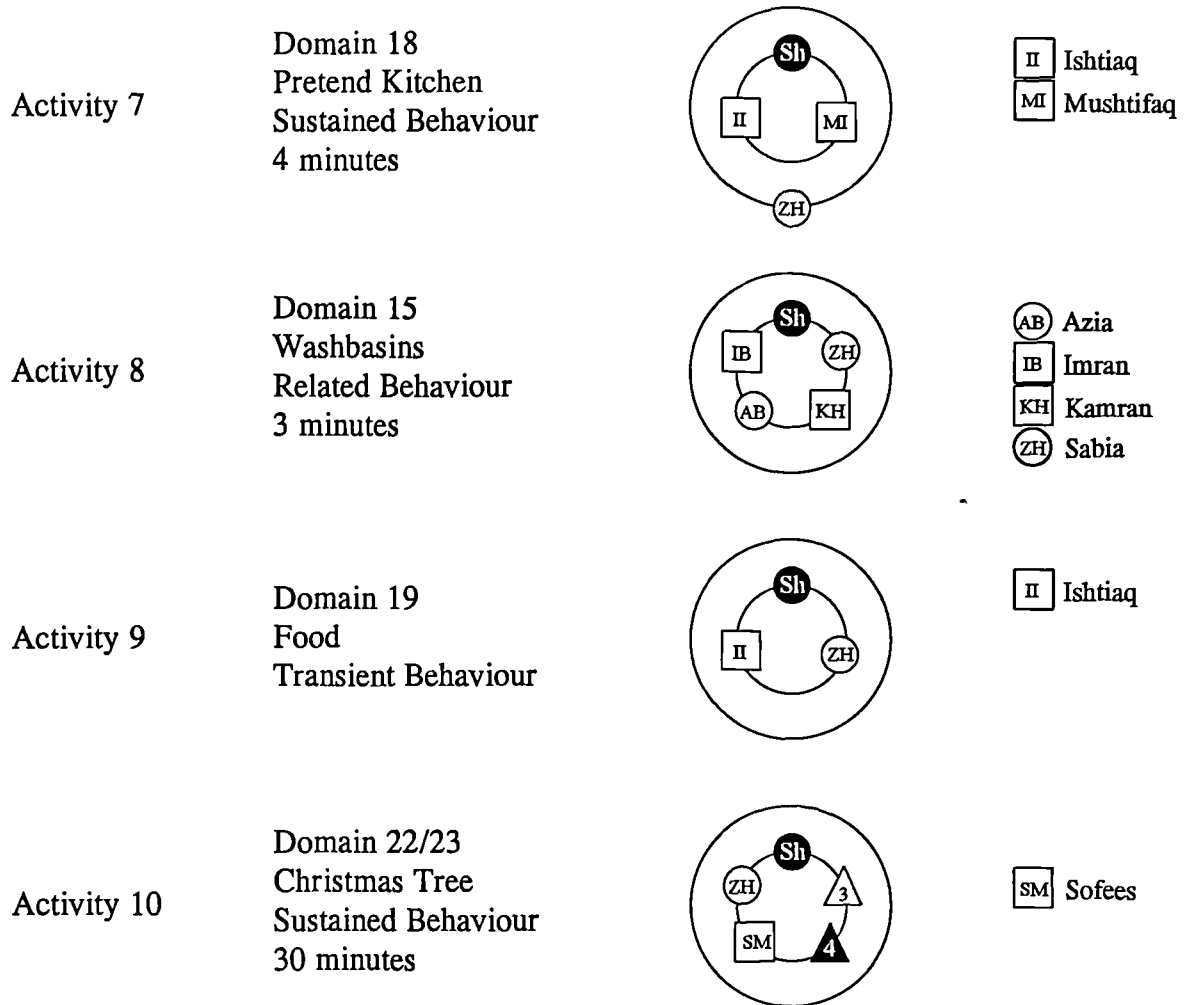


Figure 8.8a A Social Network Analysis for Shamaila
at the end of the first term in Box Hill Nursery (Part 1)



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Figure 8.8b A Social Network Analysis for Shamaila
at the end of the first term in Box Hill Nursery (Part 2)

The concept of social network analysis is important for this study in two ways. Firstly, it provides data on individual's pattern of friendship and other ties, and secondly, it provides an analysis of the social context in which these interactions are taking place. Appendix C presents social networks for all eight informants, for first day and end of term observations. From these data it is possible to identify the pattern of preferred participants within individual emerging networks. Table 8.1 presents an overview of the emerging friendship networks for each of the eight informants.

Informant	Girls in Dense Network	Boys in Dense Network	Preferred Participants
Imran (IB)	Azia (AB) Shamaila (Sh)	Kamran (KH) Yassair (YA)	Azia (AB) Kamran (KH) Yassair (YA)
Ishtiaq (II)	Shazia (S)	Mushtifaq (MI)	Mushtifaq (MI)
Kamran (KH)		Imran (IB)	Imran (IB)
Rabila (RN)	Sabia (ZH)		Sabia (ZH)
Sabia (ZH)	Sumera (SK)	Sofees (SM) Sufyaan (SA)	Sumera (SK)
Shamaila (Sh)	Sabia (ZH)	Sofees (SM) Sufyaan (SA)	Sabia (ZH) Sofees (SM)
Shazad (SH)	Sumera (SK) Rabila (RN)	Kamran (KH) Yassair (YA)	Rabila (RN) Yassair (YA)
Sofees (SM)	Shamaila (Sh)	Yassair (YA)	Shamaila (Sh) Yassair (YA)

Table 8.1 A Table of Pupils' Emerging Friendship Networks

There are a number of observations to be made about the composition of these networks. Two types of social networks have been identified: the children's dense self-selected ties and the loose, teacher-influenced groupings. The dense network of

preferred participants or friendship network comprises a very select number of preferred participants, usually only one or two individuals. Imran is the only informant to select three preferred participants for his friendship network. Secondly, the friendship network comprises both boy and girl ties except where there is only one preferred participant in the friendship network. This is the case for both the boys and the girls in the study. However, the selection of same sex preferred participants does apply when the friendship networks comprises only one participant. For example, Mushtifaq (MI) is the preferred participant in Ishtiaq's (II) friendship network; Imran (IB) in Kamran's (KH); Sabia (ZH) in Rabila's (RN); and Sumera (SK) in Sabia's (ZH). So it can be seen that when the friendship network comprises only one participant, then that individual is always of the same sex. However, when the friendship networks comprise two (or less usually, three) members, then the same sex option is different. These larger friendship networks are mixed and include both boys and girls as preferred participants. This is the case for three of the informants: Imran (IB) with Azia (AB), Kamran (KH) and Yassair (YA). Shamaila (Sh) selects Sofees (SM) and Sabia (ZH) for her friendship ties. Sofees (SM) selects Shamaila (Sh) and Yassair (YA).

Inclusion in a friendship network is not automatically a reciprocal arrangement between children. For example, Rabila (RN) is a member of Shazad's (SH) friendship network while Shazad (SH) only features in Rabila's (RN) loose, outer pupil networks. This could be accounted for by suggesting that the friendship bond is asymmetrical, stronger on one side than the other. These differences in the roles played by these girls in each other's network system is, in part, determined by the nature and topic of the exchanges that take place between them. Shazad and Rabila assume different participant roles in each other's networks. However, it should be noted that Rabila is not Shazad's only preferred participant. There is another member of Shazad's friendship network with whom she has formed a stronger bond, a boy, Yassair (YA).

There are examples from the data of reciprocal inclusion in friendship networks. For example, Imran (IB) features in Kamran's (KH) friendship network as the only preferred participant and Kamran (KH) features as one of the three preferred participants in Imran's (IB) friendship network. There is no example of two children selecting only each other as sole preferred participants. Further, this group of observed children do make contacts with other children who are not in the sample group. However, there is a striking pattern that can be observed across the data sets from each of the informants, namely, the preferred participants who form the dense ties of the friendship networks are exclusively same ethnic group peers.

The significance of the individuals who form the friendship networks is that they are predominantly members of the same ethnic group of Mirpuri-Panjabi speakers. They carry a number of emblems of their ethnicity: their style of dress (shalwa-kameez, for the girls); jewellery (nose pins, earrings and glass bangles); and hairstyle. They are all Mirpuri-Panjabi speakers and so they also share a linguistic repertoire which includes both Mirpuri-Panjabi and English, to varying degrees of competence. These markers of ethnicity have been identified by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) as significant in helping groups and individuals to identify themselves and each other as same group members. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985:209) also suggest the following criteria for individual's self-allocation to an ethnic group:

- Physical features
- Provenance
- Language
- Family descent or race
- Nationality
- Culture
- Traditions
- Religion

It is suggested therefore, that these markers of ethnic identity may act as attraction factors for the newly arrived pupils and serve to help them identify each other within the new social setting of the nursery. It may be that they actively seeks to establish contact with those whom they perceive as similar to themselves. Again, this is a recurrent pattern of behaviour across all of the children in the study.

Based on these observations from the Box Hill Nursery Project, it is suggested that there is mutual recognition of at least some of the characteristic features of ethnic identity (as described by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) in children as young as three years. This concurs with the findings of Milner (1984) who suggests that children at the ages of three and four years can identify members of their own ethnic group, distinguishing them from others groups. It is clear that the informants in the study are making choices. The children are making friends and forming friendship networks based on a selection from a wider group of children. The emerging pattern of preferred participants in the friendship networks suggests that these choices are not random. Deliberate choices are being made. Specific individuals are identified for contact. Once identified, these selected individuals may become the preferred participants for joint activities. As the term progresses these contacts become consolidated as friendship ties.

It is suggested that these preferred participants, whose company is sought and with whom interaction is frequently observed, correspond to Halliday's (1973) coterie of significant others. That is, a small group with whom language and appropriate social behaviour is learned. The selection of this group of preferred participants begins from the very first hours in school and is consolidated over time. However, the extent to which individual children are aware of their choices, or are conscious of making them, remains unknown.

From the data it can be seen that clear friendship networks emerge and that while these are different for each child, they share common features. It is suggested that these dense networks of preferred participants or friendship networks, have an influential role to play in the developing communicative competence of newcomers to the nursery. It should also be noted that members of the friendship network are always present with the informant during periods of sustained time on task. It can be said therefore, that the presence of some individuals acts as an attraction factor in sustaining interest in particular activities. Further, it is suggested that there is a social dimension to classroom activities that can (in part) account for some children spending sustained periods of time on selected learning activities.

8.7 Characteristic Features of the Dense Friendship Networks

A number of key characteristic features emerge from the network analyses of the dense friendship networks.

1. The friendship network is based on same ethnic groupings. All are Mirpuri-Panjabi speakers of ethnic Pakistani background. They carry the physical emblems of their ethnic Pakistani background previously described, as well as intrinsic features such as skin and eye colour. These features have been identified by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) as distinguishing markers of ethnic identity. They have a dual function. Firstly, they help individuals to recognise each other. Secondly, they confirm and reinforce group boundaries. The findings presented here suggest that the children in this study recognise these features of their own ethnicity. Furthermore, it is suggested that they form friendship ties on the basis of Le Page's (1978/80) distinction of 'same as each other' rather than 'different from each other' criteria. The children select their friends from those who are like themselves rather than from those who are different.

2. The friendship networks comprise only small numbers of significant others. Kamran, Rabila and Sabia all have only one participant in their friendship network. Shamaila, Shazad, Ishtiaq and Soffees all have two, and only one informant Imran, has three.
3. When the friendship network comprises only one participant, this preferred participant is termed the *key participant*. There are only three children Kamran, Rabila and Sabia who have only one key participant. Key participants are always the same sex. For example, Kamran's key participant is Imran; Rabila's key participant is Sabia and Sabia's key participant is Sumera.
4. When the friendship grouping comprises two or more individuals, then both girls and boys are to be found in the network. This suggests that the same sex friendship groupings reported by other studies (Roffey et al, 1994) is perhaps learned behaviour that occurs as the children get older. It may also suggest that the social structures of the school and wider community influence the individual's behaviour. This is a point that will be explored in more detail in Chapter 11 in a discussion of Bronfenbrenner's (1977 & 1979) Ecological Systems Theory.
5. Children spend longer, more sustained periods of time on task, engaged in learning activities, when they are working with members of their friendship network.
6. The language of the interactions within the friendship network is predominantly (but not exclusively) Mirpuri-Panjabi, the language spoken by the children in their homes. It is also one of the community languages spoken in the region.
7. Teachers (and other adults) play an instrumental role in making initial introductions between children. These are usually made on the basis of groupings

for teaching purposes when the children come together as pupils on a learning task. Once these contacts have become established, teachers continue to play an important role in allowing emerging ties to flourish. They do this by providing structured opportunities for the consolidation of these ties and initiation of others.

8. Friendship Networks are not necessarily mutual or reciprocal. For example, Shamaila is a key member of Rabila's friendship network but Rabila only features in Shamaila's loose pupil network. Friendship bonds therefore, can be asymmetrical, stronger on one side than the other. The participant roles assumed in each other's network is determined by the nature and purpose of the exchanges that take place between individuals. Language use within the networks plays an important role in the consolidation and reinforcement of network ties. It is a feature that will be discussed in further detail in Chapters 9 and 10.
9. There is no observed situation where two individuals select only each other as preferred participants. For example, Imran and Kamran both feature in each other's network but not as the sole participant. Imran features as the sole participant in Kamran's network but Kamran features as one of three participants in Imran's friendship network. This observation concurs with Roffey et al (1994:02) who suggest true reciprocity as a feature of pre-schooler friendships is not usual.
10. The findings presented here support Dunn's (1993:117) suggestion that children's relationships are dynamic. It has been seen that the friendship networks emerge and become consolidated during the children's first term in school. Further studies are required to determine the rate and extent they change in detail as the children get older and their experiences of school and other social situations broaden. Dunn (1993:117) further suggests that the development of social understanding can be influenced by the quality of close relationships. However, further studies would

also be needed in order to determine the extent to which this could be achieved through introductions with other children who are outside the same ethnic group and the role that adults and teachers can play in encouraging inter-ethnic groupings.

In summary it can be said that the children in Box Hill Nursery make friends through the formation of dense friendship networks and teachers influence pupils through the composition of the loose pupil networks.

In retrospect it is also important to reflect the chosen research method and the possible influence this exerts on the data gathered. In their analysis of ethnicity and friendship patterns among older school children aged between seven and eleven years Denscombe et al (1993) note the contrast in findings yielded from two different methodological approaches: sociometric tests using the Cresswell Index and ethnographic observations. They note:

while there is no inherent contradiction between ethnographic research and the quantification of data, there are complexities vital to our understanding of inter-ethnic friendship patterns which exclusive reliance on quantitative research methods cannot hope to unravel.

Denscombe et al (1993:142)

8.8 Contextualising Social Network Analysis

It is important to establish that while individual personal networks can be described in detail they can only be fully understood when contextualised within a broader social framework. Bronfenbrenner (1979:226-230) suggests that the patterns of social interchange carry an inherent value system that is embedded in an ecological paradigm. He suggests that social contexts and their inherent value system can exert influence on individuals and the learning that takes place within these contexts. This is an idea that will be explored more fully in Chapter 11.

There is support from social psychologists (cf Vygotsky, 1962 & Bruner & Haste, 1987) to suggest that children learn through social interaction with others. This is a view supported by systemic linguists (cf Halliday, 1973) who suggest that language plays an instrumental role in this process:

the closest of the child's relationships, that with the mother, is partly, and in time, largely mediated through language ... interaction with other people, adults and children, is very obviously maintained linguistically.

Halliday (1973:13)

The central role played by language in the creation of social contexts has already been discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 7. In addition, there is clear support (Halliday, 1973) for the view that language is also central to developing relationships:

language in the maintenance of permanent relationships, the neighbourhood and the activities of the peer group, provide the context for complex and rapidly changing interactional patterns which make extensive and subtle demands on the individual's linguistic resources. Language is used to define and consolidate the group, to include and to exclude, showing who is 'one of us,' and who is not.

Halliday (1973: 13)

Dunn's (1993:117) findings suggest that children's relationships are dynamic and that the development of social understanding can be influenced by the quality of these relationships. The findings from the Box Hill Nursery Project support the notion of social networks that are dynamic. Analysis demonstrates the ways in which individuals identify each other during their first day in the nursery and how these initial contacts are developed during the first term to become consolidated social networks. Further studies are needed to ascertain the durability of these networks, to investigate how they change, and to offer possible reasons for this evolution.

8.9 Summary

Analysis of the data presented in this Chapter suggests the emergence of two types of social networks within the nursery setting; loose pupil networks and dense friendship networks. The former are characterised by the presence of the teachers who can be seen to play an influential role in the composition of the cluster, and the activities and behaviour of individuals that takes place within the groupings. As the term progresses, key individuals emerge from the pupil network and move to form dense friendship networks. The friendship networks are characterised by the dominance of same ethnic group peers. The membership of these emerging pupil and friendship networks are seen to be significant influences in accounting for the time an individual child spends engaged in a particular learning activity.

A number of attraction factors (as previously described by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) have been identified. These help to illuminate further understanding of the time on task phenomena and help to clarify why some children spend more sustained periods of time on selected tasks. Two suggestions are offered. Firstly, that the cognitive complexity of the learning activity is not the only reason for a child to spend a sustained period of time on task. Secondly, there is a social dimension to learning activities and time spent on tasks. This social dimension is offered as a factor to explain why some individuals are observed in sustained periods of time on task that differ markedly from previous studies (Sylva et al, 1980 and Bennett, 1976). This is a view supported by Clark (1988) who suggests that the pairings of the bilingual children in Tough's (1977) study of language assessment, influenced the language performance. The grouping (or organisation) of children for classroom teaching and assessment activities is therefore highly significant for teachers. Clark (1988) suggests that pairing and groupings may lead some pupils to underperform. Educational underachievement is a recurring theme in the discussions of the academic performance of ethnic minority pupils (cf The Swann Report, DES 1985 and Troyna, 1991).

In summary, the membership of emerging pupil and friendship networks can be seen as significant in accounting for bilingual children's social and linguistic behaviour in the nursery setting. Further, the establishment and consolidation of social networks is also an important influence on bilingual children's enculturation into mainstream education. Social network analysis offers insights which illuminate these processes. Roffey et al (1994:21) state that:

an important part of developing a sense of self is identifying with the groups to which we feel we belong.

Further, Heller (1988:180) claims that:

the basis of ethnicity can be found in the social networks within which an individual forms relationships and carries out activities.

While Milroy and Li Wei (1991:235) suggest that:

network analysis offers a basis for understanding the mechanisms that underlie this process of language maintenance, and the converse, language shift.

Language use within the social networks is the focus for the fourth and fifth levels of descriptive analysis presented in Chapters 9 and 10.

CHAPTER 9

LANGUAGE CHOICE: THE USE OF ENGLISH

You have to learn it all over again,
The words, the sound, almost the whole language
Because this is a time when words must be strict and new
Not concerning you,
Or only indirectly,
Concerning a pain
Learnt as most people some time or other learn it
With shock, then dark.

Elizabeth Jennings
Let Things Happen 1972

CHAPTER 9 - LANGUAGE CHOICE: THE USE OF ENGLISH

9.0 Introduction to Level 4 of the Data Analysis

Chapter 9 and 10 should be considered together. They represent the final levels of data analysis. The focus of the analyses is the informants' preferred language use or language choice. Using Hymes' (1972b) taxonomy as a guide, discourse data from the corpus will be presented to demonstrate the ways in which individuals are learning to be communicatively competent in their new social setting of the nursery. The focus of the analysis is the individual's preferred language use or language choice for interactions. Analysis addresses:

- when individuals chose to speak
- preferred interlocutors
- preferred language for the interaction(s)

The audio-tape recordings of the naturally occurring discourse provide the data. By focusing on aspects of the situation, the interlocutors and the topic of the interaction, explanations will be sought for individual informants' particular choice of language, English (E) or Mirpuri-Panjabi (P). Chapter 9 will focus on the use of English for selected utterances, while Chapter 10 will describe specific features of the interactions. A discussion of language choice or preferred language use can be found in Chapter 10.

Chapter 9 begins with a description of the processes involved in the transcription of the audio-taped data, a discussion of the methodological considerations and a description of the key and codes included in the transcripts.

9.1 Transcribing The Discourse Data

There are a number of established conventions for transcribing audio-taped recordings. Some of these are discussed critically in Edwards & Westgate (1987: Chapter 3), who emphasise the inevitable relationship between the purpose of the analysis and the procedure for analysis (Edwards & Westgate (1987:56). They state that:

there are many possible ways to transcribe language data ranging from the minimally helpful to the complicatedly tedious.

Edwards & Westgate (1987:58)

Discourse data for the Box Hill Nursery project were gathered using candid audio-tape recorders. Pre-coded schedules were not used for the analyses. In the tradition of *grounded theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) retrospective analysis was favoured. The transformation of the audio-tapes into a form that allows for analysis and comparisons across the informants began with the production of verbatim transcripts. These were compiled using the standard orthographic alphabet. In an attempt to avoid the imposition of idealised sentence structures, features of written language including punctuation, capitalisation etc have been avoided and used only to facilitate the reading of the transcripts. Some critics of ethnographic studies (cf Milroy, 1987 and Stubbs, 1983) claim that the transformation of data in this way actually distorts the data by imposing meaning. An alternative view however, is that the inclusion of basic punctuation and other conventions more usually associated with written forms of language, actually facilitates reading and hence makes the data more accessible and thereby available to a wider, less specialist audience.

9.2 Coding the Transcripts

The next stage in the preparation of the discourse data is to add the coding features identified as central to the analysis and interpretation of the data. Codings have been added to help answer the research questions posed:

- ii) which language(s) are spoken
- iii) when individuals speak and
- iv) to whom.

By combining the field notes and contextual descriptions with the transcribed data it is possible to construct transcripts carrying the following information:

1. the participants (who said what)
2. the actual site in the nursery setting where utterances were made (when they speak)
3. the child participants have been identified by pseudonyms and initials eg Azia (AB), and Kamran (KH). Their given names, initials and the numbers of the transcripts of their language use can be found in Table 9.1.
4. adult participants (teachers, bilingual classroom assistants and researchers) are identified as monolingual or bilingual and then as numbers 1 to 7:

Monoling T1	Head of the Nursery
Monoling T2	Nursery Nurse
Monoling T3	Monolingual Classroom Assistant
Biling T4	Bilingual Classroom Assistant (BCA)
Monoling T5	Researcher (experienced, qualified primary school teacher)
Monoling T6	Experienced, qualified primary school teacher
Biling T7	Bilingual Classroom Assistant (BCA)

5. the language of each utterance is marked by P for Mirpuri-Panjabi and E for English. In some instances it has not been possible to attribute an utterance to a particular language. Examples of these utterances include:

Transcript 1	Line 18	Imran:	brrr (playing noises)
Transcript 2	Line 33	Imran:	making car noises
Transcript 3	Line 31	Ishtiaq:	humming and murmuring to himself
Transcript 3	Line 171	Ishtiaq:	brumm, brumm
Transcript 7	Lines 24, 31	Shamaila:	playing noises
Transcript 7	Line 119	Shamaila:	laughing
Transcript 10	Line 22	Shazad:	as if hurt
Transcript 10	Line 59	Shazad:	beep, beep, beep
Transcript 10	Line 119	Shazad & Rabila:	making sounds together
Transcript 10	Line 240	Shazad:	singing to herself during story time

In these cases, the utterances have not been allocated to a language choice and have not been included in the quantification of the individual informant's preferred language use.

Some codes have been added because they illustrate some of the difficulties encountered in the transcription process. These include the following symbols:

6. /// inaudible utterance
7. ? for a speaker who is difficult to identify

Other codes have been included because they represent particular types of language behaviour. Idiosyncratic uses have not been noted. However, the following two codes have:

8. (echoes) similar to Vygotsky's (1962) self-regulated speech
9. ๐ code-switching, a feature of bilinguals' utterances

have been included because they represent language behaviour recorded as used by more than one of the informants. These specific features of language use will be defined and described in a later section on the descriptions of individual language use.

Other information from the audio-taped recordings and from the observational schedules have also been included. These include details of background sounds. The following are just some examples of the many contextual features that have been added to the transcripts:

(the sound of building bricks falling down)	Transcript 1 Line 25
(music in the background)	Transcript 3 Line 23
(footsteps)	Transcript 5 Line 25
(classroom noise)	Transcript 6 Lines 175 & 229
(the sound of crying)	Transcript 10 Line 105
(the sound of glockenspiel)	Transcript 10 Line 134.

This information appears in the transcripts in brackets. It has been included because it helps to provide information about the child's total linguistic environment. This information has not always been used in the subsequent discussion of social and language behaviour but it has been included in the transcripts because it helps to convey the impression of the actual environment as experienced by the child. Everyday life in the nursery is often noisy, boisterous and full of sounds and noises. The new pupil is learning which of the sounds are significant and to be responded to and which can be ignored.

The focus of the study is not a detailed description of all possible levels of language use. Information such as the phonological, phonemic realisations have not been attempted. The actual form of grammatical structures will not be addressed in detail either. (However, these details would be required for a Chomskyan description of language). The informants are very young children. Their utterances are therefore typical of children at the early stages of language development. Not all utterances are fully formed or grammatically standard. The children in this study are also learning more than one language. Their utterances in English have been transcribed as they

were spoken. No attempt has been made to mark non-standard or unformed utterances. Sometimes information has been included about the manner in which an utterance was spoken. Examples of this level of detail includes:

(whispering)	Transcript 1 Line 11
(laughing)	Transcript 2 Line 152
(voice fades away)	Transcript 5 Line 129
(upset)	Transcript 5 Line 152
(as if reading)	Transcript 6 Line 65
(mimicking)	Transcript 6 Line 68.

This information has been included because it is considered important to the understanding of an individual's behaviour and their developing linguistic competence.

Silences have not been quantified. For ease of reference, line numbers have been inserted in the left hand column of the transcripts. Counter readings relating to the audio-tapes have also been included. These were used extensively during the various stages of the transcription process but are no longer of immediate significance.

Data from only seven of the eight informants will be presented in this section. Technical difficulties with recording equipment have resulted in incomplete data sets for Sofees. He will not therefore be included in the data presented. A total of ten transcripts has been included. These include the transcripts of the first day discourse data for seven of the eight informants, together with three transcripts of end of term discourse data (for Imran, Shamaila and Shazad). These have been included as representative samples and because they demonstrate the range of language behaviours observed. The transcripts of the tapes are, in keeping with the presentation of the other data sets, presented in alphabetic order of the children's names. Each transcript

has been numbered. Ten transcripts can be found in Appendix D, Transcripts of the Discourse Data.

Table 9.1 presents a key to the transcripts of the informants' naturally occurring language use, the audio-taped data (as presented in Appendix D):

Transcript 1	Imran	(IB)	First Day
Transcript 2	Imran	(IB)	Last Day
Transcript 3	Ishtiaq	(II)	First Day
Transcript 4	Kamran	(KH)	First Day
Transcript 5	Rabila	(RN)	First Day
Transcript 6	Sabia	(ZH)	First Day
Transcript 7	Shamaila	(Sh)	First Day
Transcript 8	Shamaila	(Sh)	Last Day
Transcript 9	Shazad	(SH)	First Day
Transcript 10	Shazad	(SH)	Last Day

Table 9.1 Key to the transcripts of the audio-taped data

There is no claim that this process of transcription is value free. Milroy reminds us that:

transcription of any kind is invariably a selective process,
reflecting underlying theoretical goals and assumptions.
Milroy (1987:117)

There are ways of minimising the impact of the researcher's subjective bias, without denying its existence and possible influence. Edwards and Westgate suggest one way is to make information about the research methods used available to other researchers. They note:

the researcher's highly problematic task remains therefore of devising ways of capturing and displaying for analysis in the first place, enough evidence from the relevant channels of communication for the observers' interpretations to approach the reliability of those originally made by the participants and upon which they acted.

Edwards & Westgate (1987:70)

This is a view endorsed by Stubbs (1983). An attempt has been made to meet his call for a 'principled approach'. The transcripts prepared in the way described, are the basis for all analyses and descriptions. The audio-taped recordings are available but are not to be lodged with the thesis to respect the confidentiality of those who participated in the study. A computer-based corpus of the discourse data (transcriptions) has been compiled and is available to others for research purposes.

Transcription is a time consuming process. It has been suggested that each hour of tape recording may require fifteen hours or more to transcribe (Edwards & Furlong, 1985, Westgate et al, 1985). In the Tizard & Hughes (1984) observational study of thirty, four year old girls at home and in the nursery school, five transcribers were employed to prepare the transcripts. They warn:

researchers considering a similar study should note that this process of transcribing and editing is very time consuming. One hour of tape took nine hours to transcribe, and a further three hours to check over and add context notes ... This adds up to approximately four thousand hours of work involved in collecting data, transcribing it, checking it and adding context notes, before the analysis could even begin.

Tizard & Hughes (1984:34-35)

My own view is that these estimates are conservative. The task of transcription was more time consuming due in part to the age of the informants. The process of transcription was further complicated because the informants were also using more than one language for their interactions.

A further stage in the preparation of the transcripts was undertaken. In an attempt to reduce the claim of transcription being a distortion of the data, the transcriptions, together with the original audio-taped recordings, were presented back to the adults present in the nursery at the time of the data collection. Their comments, views and interpretations have been distilled and combined with contextual fieldnotes. Some of these details have been used to interpret the recordings. The audio-tapes were also made available to the families of the informants for comment and interpretation. Invaluable insights were gained from these procedures. A full discussion of the research methods can be found in Chapter 5.

There were five stages involved in the preparation of the transcripts:

- Stage 1 transcription of the audio-tapes
- Stage 2 combining the transcriptions of the audio-tapes with the contextual
 information from the observation schedules
- Stage 3 adding the codes to the transcripts
- Stage 4 feedback from those present in the nursery at the time of the data
 collection and from the families of the informants
- Stage 5 refinement of the transcripts in light of Stage 4

The transcripts, prepared in the way described above, are the basis for the analyses and comments which follow.

9.3 The Children's Use of English on their First Day in Box Hill Nursery

Many sociolinguistic studies of the classroom have focused on the teacher's use of language (see for example, Edwards & Westgate, 1987 for an overview of the most important studies). While this is of some interest, the primary focus here will be the language used by the children. Using the transcripts prepared in the way described, the fourth and fifth levels of data analyses will explore the questions:

1. when do the children speak ?
2. who do they speak to?
3. what language do they use for their interactions?

Pre-observation interviews with the families of the children provided information about the individual's linguistic repertoires. All families reported that the children had little or no knowledge of spoken English prior to attending the nursery. They said that English was not used extensively in the home, where the language of family interactions was reported as almost exclusively Mirpuri-Panjabi, the community language. However, there is evidence from the audio-tape recordings that some English was spoken by the children even on their first day in the nursery school. Analysis begins with a description of the utterances recorded in English.

Transcript 1 (Appendix D) presents the language spoken by Imran during his first hour in the nursery. His preferred language throughout this first hour in school is Mirpuri-Panjabi. There is only one recorded instance of his use of English. This takes place when he is seated at the drawing table, Activity 9, a sustained activity lasting ten minutes. He is with Azia (AB), and Kamran (KH), a bilingual classroom assistant (T4) and a monolingual teacher (T5). He is heard to say 'brown' (Transcript 1, Line 83) when he is talking to Kamran. They are drawing, using different coloured crayons and although there are teachers present, they are not leading the activity. The children

are engaged in their making their own drawings. All other interactions between Imran and Kamran are in Mirpuri-Panjabi.

By contrast the preferred language used by Kamran (Transcript 4) during his first day in the nursery is English. A total of 103 utterances are recorded in English, compared with 48 in Mirpuri-Panjabi. The following extract is from his conversation with monolingual T3, during his very first encounter of the afternoon (Transcript 4, Lines 21-39):

- 21 Kamran: he' still got his
22 T3: I'm going to get one for Imran, that'll be good, won't it?
23 Kamran: I'm still ...
24 T3: I hope you're not playing with a gun, we don't have guns, go and put
25 it back
26 Kamran: ... guns just putting it in a car
27 T3: oh
28 Kamran: just boring
29 T5: I think it looks very smart on you, I like the pear, I like pears, do you
30 eat pears? What fruits do you like? (sound of musical instruments)
31 Kamran: apples, green apples and red apples
32 T5: very nice, I like strawberries as well
33 T3: you've got one now, you've had too much dinner
34 Kamran: he has a ...
35 English ...
36 Kamran: if you don't give it me ... I'll
37 T3: come on you play as well, come on Kamran, all play together, what
38 are you doing Geoffrey?
39 Kamran: P

During this sustained interaction Kamran uses English for six of his utterances. From this relatively short exchange it is possible to conclude that Kamran is displaying a number of competencies in his English repertoire. His use of English in this context is significant not only because it demonstrates a competence in the language on his part, but also because he is demonstrating a sense of appropriate language use within the context of the nursery school and in the presence of a monolingual teacher. He is also demonstrating his ability to protect his own interests when he threatens another pupil, Geoffrey (Transcript 4, Line 36):

Kamran: if you don't give it me ... I'll

He uses the formulaic: If you ... I'll ... as a threat. Although his choice of English for this utterance is appropriate, his competence does not (at this stage) include the full threat. However, although this utterance lacks grammatical accuracy, Kamran demonstrates communicative competence in two ways. English is the appropriate language for this utterance. Geoffrey speaks and understands only English. The utterance carries communicative force. As a threat it succeeds in safeguarding Kamran's interests (whatever they might be). The intervention of Teacher 3:

T3: come on you play as well, come on Kamran, all play together, what are you doing Geoffrey?

concludes this interaction. Kamran switches to Mirpuri-Panjabi (Transcript 4, Line 39). The interactions recorded in Transcript 4, Lines 36-39 can also be described in terms of social behaviour of boundary maintenance. The preferred use of English and Mirpuri-Panjabi can be understood as a linguistic mechanism for including or excluding specific interlocutors. The use of English for Kamran's threat to Geoffrey followed by the switch to Mirpuri-Panjabi excludes Geoffrey from further interactions. This is one example of preferred language use demonstrating a communicative competence that serves to reinforce the membership of the social networks described in Chapter 8.

For the other activities of the afternoon Kamran is with bilingual interlocutors (both pupils and the teacher). His language for interactions in those contexts is a sometimes English and sometimes Mirpuri-Panjabi.

The pattern of language use for Rabila (Transcript 5) is different. She is recorded using English for fourteen utterances. These utterances are unlike Kamran's use of English in that they occur in isolation rather than during the course of a sustained interaction. The following extract presents the utterances recorded during Rabila's first activity of the afternoon when she is upset and being comforted by T1:

14 Rabila: no no no
 19 Rabila: mmm
 24 Rabila: mmm

After visiting the main school building together, they arrive back in the nursery where the following exchange with T1 is recorded:

59 T1: what are you going to play with mmm
 60 Rabila: mmm

A little later during the same Related Activity at the washbasins there is a further exchange between monolingual T1 and Rabila:

72-73 T1: mmm that was blue, now I've found the red, I've got blue on my
 hands
 74 T1 & Rabila: mmm

This interaction with T1 continues:

75 T1: do you like that blue? Do you? Now would you like another red?
 76 Rabila: (echoes) a red
 77 T1: let's have a look
 78 All children: red
 79 Rabila: (echoes) ra, ra
 80 Rabila: (singing) red
 81 Christopher: I need a red one
 82 T1: that's red, yes
 83 Rabila: (echoes) red

The utterance mmm (Lines 19, 24 & 60) has been coded as English because they closely resemble similar utterances recorded and ascribed to T1. From these utterances it can be seen that Rabila is already influenced by the teacher. She tries to mimic her and is quick to repeat her utterances (Lines 19, 24, 80 & 83). The codification of Rabila's utterances of 'mmm' as English, therefore seems justifiable. These utterances demonstrate the important role that monolingual teachers play in providing a model of language for children in their care. There are a number of instances where the pupils seem to copy, mimic or repeat the utterance that they have

just heard. This behaviour is termed *echoing*. It appears in the transcripts as (echoes), as the above extract demonstrates. The reasons for it are not clear. It may be that the child is trying out the utterance to see what response (if any) it can evoke. It may be that they are intrigued by the sound(s) they have heard or that the word is familiar to them, they may have heard it before but be unsure of its meaning and appropriate use. There are a number of possible explanations. However, it is a trend that has been observed across all informants. It is different from a straightforward repetition in a number of ways. It differs in volume. Echoing is usually very quiet and barely audible. It is as if the child is speaking to themselves. It is almost as if they are trying out what they have just heard. Because it is so quiet, it was not easily distinguishable on the audio-recordings. Hence, at first it did not emerge as significant. However, it is noted because of its repeated occurrence across the data sets. Further examples of echoing include the following examples from the data:

Transcript 9	Line 128	Shazad	I've finish
Transcript 9	Line 129	Rabila	(echoes) I've finish

Echoing corresponds to the language behaviour that Vygotsky (1962) terms self-regulated speech or a means of commenting on behaviour. It is suggested that it is a stage in development that becomes redundant when internalised as thought processes. However, it is suggested that the echoing recorded here differs from self-regulated speech in terms of specific linguistic features, for example the volume of the utterance. Echoes are very quiet, almost inaudible.

Informant	Transcript No.	Line Reference	Total Number of Utterances in English
Imran	1	L83	1
Ishtiaq	3	L38;L42;L44;L46;L58;L60;L75;L104;L107;L120;L123;L142;L160;L176	14
Kamran	4	L21;L23;L26;L28;L31;L34;L36;L44;L46;L52;L56;L58;L60;L62;L64;L66;L68;L74;L76;L80;L86;L88;L90;L93;L95;L97;L99;L104;L106;L110;L116;L118;L138;L152;L157;L169;L177;L180;L184;L196;L198;L202;L204;L214;L219;L221;L226;L228;L238;L243;L245;L247;L249;L251;L253;L255;L257;L259;L261;L265;L285;L289;L302;L307;L309;L314;L316;L319;L327;L327;L329;L331;L336;L339;L344;L352;L360;L364;L369;L371;L375;L377;L389;L395;L404;L406;L408;L410;L415;L420;L422;L425;L428;L431;L433;L439;L441;L446;L448;L452;L457;L459;L469	103
Rabila	5	L14;L19;L24;L60;L74;L80;L83;L87;L90;L94;L179;L185;L189	13
Sabia	6	L43;L65;L77;L79;L81;L83;L85;L99;L150;L152;L157;L201;L209;L211;L226;L235;L239;L243;L255;L260;L262;L274;L278;L299;L333;L335;L339;L352;L367;L383;L396;L405;L441;L443;L445;L451;L502;L517;L538;L623;L635	41
Shamaila	7	L91;L184;L189	3
Shazad	9	L26;L72;L80;L94;L106;L113;L127;L128;L131	9

Table 9.2 Number of informants' utterances recorded in English during the first hour in Box Hill Nursery

There is another general trend to note among all of the informants. That is, there is evidence of each of them speaking English, even on the first day in the nursery. Both Kamran (103 utterances) and Sabia (41 utterances) are recorded using English extensively. Comparisons are not always useful but Table 9.2 presents an overview for the informants and the number of utterances recorded in English for each child

during the first day in the nursery. Although the actual number of utterances varies across the informants, it can be seen that English is the chosen language for some interactions even during the first day. The preferred language for the majority of their utterances is the home language Mirpuri-Panjabi. However, the use of English for some utterances is interesting. It suggests a level of competence unrecognised and unacknowledged by family members.

It is important to note that these figures alone are not necessarily significant. Some children are talkative whereas others are not. Two unrelated studies of child language development (Wells, 1984 and Tizard & Hughes, 1984) both note the small number of utterances spoken by some monolingual children during their first experiences in school. They suggest that the context of the classroom and its prevailing rules of discourse limit the contribution that children as pupils are permitted to make to on-going interaction:

compared with homes, schools are not providing an environment that fosters language development. For no child (in the Bristol Language Project) was the language experience of the classroom richer than that of home - not even for those believed to be linguistically deprived.

Wells (1984:87)

So it not the actual number of utterances in English that are of significance. A comparison with the number of utterances recorded in Mirpuri-Panjabi helps to put the utterances in English into a relative perspective. Table 9.3 presents a comparison between the informants' utterances recorded in Mirpuri-Panjabi and English during the first day in Box Hill Nursery.

Informant	Transcript No.	Total Number of Utterances in Mirpuri-Panjabi	Total Number of Utterances in English
Imran	1	24	1
Ishtiaq	3	4	14
Kamran	4	48	103
Rabila	5	3	13
Sabia	6	66	41
Shamaila	7	65	3
Shazad	9	22	9

Table 9.3 A comparison between the number of informants' utterances recorded in Mirpuri-Panjabi and English during the first day in Box Hill Nursery

9.4 Features of Pupil Utterances in English

While this comparative overview is useful, it is interesting to note that for four of the children (Imran, Sabia, Shamaila and Shazad) there are more utterances recorded in Mirpuri-Panjabi than in English. However, this is not the case for Ishtiaq, Kamran or Rabila for whom more utterances are recorded in English even on their first day in the nursery. Closer attention to the utterances in English may help to illuminate aspects of discourse function and language development. Although both Rabila and Kamran use English for the majority of their utterances, the pattern of language use is different for each. It has already been seen that Kamran uses English during one sustained interaction with a monolingual teacher, while Rabila uses English for shorter contributions on a number of different occasions. The common element in her use of English is that it is always with the same monolingual teacher (T1).

A closer examination of the utterances in English offers insights into the developing communicative competence of the children. This extract from Transcript 3 of Ishtiaq's

interactions during his first activity of the afternoon, is an example of interaction across the loose pupil network and dense friendship boundaries. It is also significant in other ways.

- 11 Biling T4: P
 12 T1: will you say thank you for me to ...
 13 P
 14 Biling T4: P
 15 ⌘E what's her name?
 16 Biling T4: P⌘Mrs. Malloch
 17 Ishtiaq: P
 18 Mushtifaq: P
 19 Ishtiaq: P
 20 T4: Christopher, Paul are you swearing? Panjabi

It is clear from the data that Ishtiaq's contribution to the discourse (Transcript 3 Lines 17-19) has a pivotal function. On the one hand he has been conducting a sustained interaction with a bilingual teacher and a bilingual boy, Mushtifaq (MI). Simultaneously, he has been listening to a conversation between two boys, Christopher and Paul who are playing nearby. Their conversation is conducted in English. Ishtiaq takes the opportunity to report to the teacher that the boys are swearing (inappropriate school behaviour). This he has overheard in English. By doing this he is demonstrating not only an understanding of the English language but also an understanding of the social rules of appropriate pupil behaviour. He has demonstrated an awareness of the conventions associated with taboo language (swearing). When the teacher questions Christopher and Paul about their language, Ishtiaq uses the opportunity to consolidate his membership of the dense network. The emerging friendship group moves away to continue playing together in another area of the nursery (the Wet Sand Area, Domain 12).

This small sample of language behaviour demonstrates a number of factors relating to Ishtiaq's developing communicative competence:

1. It demonstrates Ishtiaq's understanding of English. He has overheard and understood the conversation between Christopher and Paul.
2. It demonstrates a developing awareness of appropriate language use in the specific context of the nursery classroom. Ishtiaq already appreciates some of the rules that govern appropriate language behaviour in given social contexts. He has recognised taboo language use (swearing) as inappropriate behaviour in the classroom.
3. Ishtiaq is also learning to behave like a pupil. He reports the inappropriate behaviour that he has observed to the teacher. This concurs with Willes (1983) findings that children very quickly become socialised as pupils and adopt the norms of appropriate school behaviour.
4. Through his behaviour, Ishtiaq has also successfully consolidated his position in the emerging friendship network. He has also reinforced the group boundary. He has made use of both of the languages in his linguistic repertoire (English and Mirpuri-Panjabi) to do this.

Ishtiaq's behaviour serves to support Halliday's statement about young children learning language. Halliday states:

the young child, still primarily a learner, can do what very few adults can do in such situations: he can be internalising language while listening and talking. He can be, effectively, both a participant and an observer at the same time ... his own critical involvement in this complex (bilingual) interaction does not prevent him from profiting linguistically or socially from it.

Halliday (1973:14)

A summary profile of Ishtiaq's preferred language use across all of the networks which emerged on Day 1, shows that within each setting, Mirpuri-Panjabi is the

dominant language. The preferred language is determined on the basis of the number of turns spoken in that language and the discourse function which each turn fulfils. The only occasion when English is the preferred language is in the Setting 5, on Day 1, the painting activity in which he is participating with three members of his friendship network, two girls, Sabia (SA) and Rabila (RN) and a boy, Mushtifaq (MI). The difference however, within this setting, is the presence of two monolingual teachers. Consider the following sample of data from the corpus (Transcript 3 Lines 37-88).

- 37 T1: you're all going to paint
 38 Ishtiaq: yea
 39 T1: you need one of these, Ishtiaq and Shazia
 40 T1: That's right, Shazia watch me, watch. Ishtiaq, there's water in here,
 41 Ishtiaq water in here
 42 Ishtiaq: Yea
 43 T1: and then the paint
 44 Ishtiaq: Yea
 45 T1: and then put the paint in there
 46 Ishtiaq: Yea
 47 T1: and then you can paint with it on your paper.
 48 Ishtiaq: mmm
 49 T1: You can show me what to do. Take a brush, and then some water for
 50 it, and then some paint, and into your palette, that's it. Ishtiaq when
 51 you want to use another colour, wash your brush in the water. Wash
 52 your brush in the water. Wash it really well. Then choose another
 53 colour.
 54 T2 (to T1) I'm going to have ...
 55 T1: Put it in here again. That's right.
 56 Mushtifaq: yea
 57 T1: Red, that's bright red, red.
 58 Ishtiaq: Red
 59 T1: What colour have you painted, Ishtiaq? What colour's this?
 60 Ishtiaq: Red
 61 T1: Red mmm now wipe your brush. I think it needs to be washed a little
 62 bit more than that it's still ...I'd put it back in the water or it will make
 63 your paints dirty. That's better. No, not straight onto your paper ...
 64 now onto the paper, mmm. Shazia what colour are you going to choose
 65 now?
 66 what do you like? Start again or ... it's a lovely colour isn't it?
 67 Ishtiaq: P yalo
 68 T1: Like the sunshine
 69 T1: That's pale pink there Ishtiaq and darker pink. The only thing that
 70 attracts the sun is red.
 71 T2: (to
 72 another child) Who brought you today? I've never seen your daddy before. Is that
 73 Daddy? Bigger children at home
 74 T1: quite big isn't she? Andrew was big as well (reference to an older
 75 brother).
 Ishtiaq: you can do

76 T1: What's that for Ishtiaq? You've got an apron, haven't you? Come over
77 here, come over here, Mushtifaq.
78 T1: Here we go. I don't think you'll reach the paint if you don't. Come,
79 come around here. Come around here. Look, ... don't very well any
80 way, into the water. Is there any paint on your paper? It's a lovely
81 colour. It's a lovely red.
82 T2: Come and see what's going on here. Look at this. What lovely colours.
83 T1: The little ones can't reach very well there. It's too far for them. You
84 could ... Oh look at that beautiful green you've got. Let me see that
85 green.
86 T2: I can't make a good green. It's not the best green is it?
87 YTS Trainee: Put the blue and the yellow
88 T1: in the palette

The interaction in bold between Mushtifaq and Ishtiaq is particularly noteworthy (Line 75). This is the first time, using the data as evidence, that Ishtiaq uses English as the language of interaction with Mushtifaq. The utterance: **you can do**, is unformed grammatically and may be described as non-standard. However, it carries the communicative force to include Mushtifaq in the painting activity and in turn in Ishtiaq's dense friendship network. The utterance, combined with the act of getting an apron (appropriate painting clothing) achieves this. However, the action and utterance (probably unheard) are misinterpreted by monolingual Teacher 1.

In order to understand more fully Ishtiaq's choice of English as the preferred language to initiate interaction with Mushtifaq, it is necessary to compare the setting in which it occurs with others where Mirpuri-Panjabi is his preferred language. There are a number of features to note. Firstly, of the eleven settings mapped from the two days of observations, Setting 5 on Day One is the only setting where English is identified as the dominant language (ie English is the preferred language for most utterances). So Ishtiaq's choice of English could be explained by his desire to remain consistent in his use of language with others' use of language within this particular setting. This is one possible explanation.

There is an equally plausible explanatory factor that can explain Ishtiaq's use of English for this utterance, namely the presence of the monolingual teachers. This

concurs with previous researchers, for example Sylva et al (1980) who suggest that the presence of an adult can influence child behaviour; Wells (1984) and Tizard & Hughes (1984) who identify the constraints that institutional discourse norms exert on pupils' linguistic behaviour during their early days in school. Chapter 10 will present other features of language use.

The following sample from the data demonstrates the way in which Shazad is anxious to conform as a pupil and to comply with teacher requests (Transcript 10 Lines 148-160).

148		T1:	carpet time
149	Shazad:		Rabila back
150		T2:	come on Shazad on the carpet please
151	Shazad:		...
152		T2:	on the carpet please
153	Shazad:		P
154	Shazad:		P
155		T2:	(in the distance) get off the chair please, Melanie
156	Loud voice:		teacher, teacher teacher
157		T1:	up you go (moves her away) Shazad stand up please, sit down there
158			please
159	Shazad:		P
160		T1:	you won't be able to see the story

There then follows a Sustained Activity, Story Time, which lasts for ten minutes. In Line 149 Shazad chooses English to tell Teacher 1 that her friend, Rabila is not there. Of course the utterance: 'Rabila back' does not achieve this goal. Indeed it is not understood by the teacher, whose main concern at that moment is getting all of the children seated in a circle on the carpet so they can see the book and enjoy the story session. One interpretation of Shazad's utterance is that it was unsuccessful. However, despite the obvious breakdown in the communication between Shazad and T1, there is evidence of developing communicative competence in Shazad's utterance. She has chosen English as the preferred language for this interaction. This shows a developing sense of linguistic awareness, since T1 is monolingual. The fact that Shazad's utterance is ineffective is less significant than her appropriate choice of language for

the interaction. This is another example from the data of a bilingual pupil's choice of English for an interaction with a teacher being misunderstood.

Also, these extracts provide further evidence to support Sylva et al's (1980) observation that the presence of an adult can exert an influence on child behaviour. It demonstrates Willes' (1983) view that children very quickly become socialised into the norms of appropriate school behaviour, linguistic and social. Children quickly learn to be pupils. If this is so, then the implications of the dominant presence of monolingual teachers in classrooms with bilingual pupils may result in a language shift (LS) towards English, the dominant language of the nursery classroom and the societal language.

A comparison of the recorded utterances in English on the first day in the nursery with those recorded on the last day of the term, reveals a pattern of language shift towards English. This can be demonstrated using samples of data from three informants, Imran, Shamaila and Shazad. Table 9.4 presents a comparison for three children between the number of their utterances recorded in English on the first and last days in the nursery. These have been selected as exemplar.

Informant	Transcript No.	First Day	Last Day
Imran	1 & 2	1	6
Shamaila	7 & 8	3	5
Shazad	9 & 10	9	9

Table 9.4 A comparison between the number of the informants' utterances recorded in English on the first day & the end of the first term in Box Hill Nursery

From Table 9.4 it can be seen that both Imran and Shamaila actually speak very little English on their first day in the nursery. Again, these figures mean little in isolation.

However, when compared with the number of utterances recorded in English for the same informants at the end of their first term in the nursery, a pattern emerges. A slight increase can be observed in the number of recorded utterances in English after only one term in the nursery. Imran's recorded utterances in English increases from one to six and Shamaila's recorded utterances in English increases slightly less from three to five. Although neither have a large number of utterances recorded in English, there is evidence in these data of language shift (LS), albeit slight, after only one term in the nursery. This is a pattern found across all informants. Although the extent of the language shift does vary.

Those informants for whom a larger number of utterances were recorded on the first day in the nursery also support this interpretation of language shift towards English, the dominant societal language. Shazad is the sole example where the number of recorded utterances in English remains constant at nine. This can in part be accounted for by the teacher led story telling activity which lasts for ten minutes on the last day of term. This reduces Shazad's potential for participation in interactions.

9.5 Summary

This chapter has used the audio-taped discourse data of the children's naturally occurring language use to explore some of the ways in which they were becoming communicatively competent in the new social setting of the nursery school. The processes involved in the transcription of audio-taped data have been described and the various stages in the transcription process discussed. Data analysis shows that all seven of the children speak some English, even on their very first hour in the nursery. A number of factors have been identified as influencing individuals' choice of English as the preferred language for these utterances.

Use of English is only one facet of the informants' linguistic repertoires. Chapter 10 will present an analysis of the children's use of the home and community language Mirpuri-Panjabi. The analysis of data from Chapters 9 and 10 will be combined in a concluding discussion about the role of language in ethnic identity and the process of enculturation into a new social setting.

CHAPTER 10

LANGUAGE CHOICE: A CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS

Maybe he had different words in his language;
the only ones she and her mother had wouldn't
do, weren't meant for a situation not provided
for in their lives.

Nadine Gordimer
Some Are Born To Sweet Delight 1991:80

CHAPTER 10 - LANGUAGE CHOICE: A CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS

10.0 Introduction to Level 5 of the Data Analysis

This chapter continues with a descriptive analysis of the informants' choice of language for interactions with selected interlocutors. Analysis will reveal a pattern of language use that is specific to bilingual children. This is termed code-switching. Analysis will identify generic patterns of language choice and the subsequent impact these choices exert on the language of the development of the discourse. The chapter begins with definitions of code-switching and the features that distinguish it as language behaviour.

10.1 Code-switching as a Feature of Bilingual Interactions

Chapter 9 examined the informants' use of English in the nursery setting. The focus on their use of English is valid. However, it remains only one facet of the children's linguistic repertoire. A unique feature of bilinguals' linguistic repertoire is their ability to draw on more than one language for their interactions with others. Bilinguals have a choice of languages that they can use for interactions. For the informants in this study the choice available to them is English, Mirpuri-Panjabi or even a combination of the two. Bilinguals combined use of both of the languages in their repertoire is an established linguistic phenomenon. It is described in the literature and three types of linguistic behaviour of this kind have been identified. These have been termed code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. It is important to distinguish between these three types of language use.

The term code mixing refers to the use of one or more languages for the consistent transfer of linguistic units from one language into another, and by such a language mixture developing a new restricted - or not so restricted - code of linguistic interaction.

Kachru (1978:28)

Code-switching has been defined by Heller (1988: Introduction) as 'the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode' and by Sankoff et al (1991) as 'the combination of two or more languages in ... discourse'.

Some scholars of bilingualism distinguish between speakers' code-switching and the borrowing of lexical items, idioms, phrases or terms from another language. Treffers-Daller (1991) provides cogent theoretical arguments for regarding code-switching and borrowing as the same language behaviour. This position is reinforced by Myers-Scotton (1990) who has advanced a model of language behaviour which treats code-switching and borrowing together, along with a number of other linguistic features which distinguish the specific use of language(s) in contact situations. The difficulties of distinguishing code-switching and borrowing as separate linguistic behaviours have also been detailed by Schatz (1989) and Nortier (1989).

The essential difference between code-switching and borrowing can be better understood by examination of the assumptions that underpin the two terms. *Borrowing* adheres to the prevalent assumption that speakers use only one (dominant) language and complement it by borrowing from one or more others. The term *code-switching* offers an alternative to this one-speaker-one-language description of language behaviour. The notion of the exclusive use of one language as the norm is prevalent not only among researchers. Heller (1988) suggests that the assumption is so powerful, speakers who code-switch can remain unaware of their own behaviour and can even vigorously deny it. In contrast to borrowing, code-switching is viewed as language behaviour that integrates both language systems. This integration takes place at all levels in both language. It is argued (cf Genesee & Bourhis, 1982; Pfaff, 1979) that code-switching derives from a universal pattern of relationships between the form, function and context of language use and is therefore, a structurally unified use of both linguistic systems, and is distinctly different from borrowing behaviour. For

the purposes of the descriptions of language use that follow, the term code-switching (together with its inherent assumptions) will be the preferred term.

10.2 Types of Code-switches

Code-switching studies have adopted a variety of foci. Some researchers have focused on its linguistic features while others focus on the social and contextual aspects of code-switching. Poplack (1980) identified three types of code-switching, lexical (at word level), inter-sentential (the use of both languages within the same sentence), and intra-sentential (switches that coincide with sentence boundaries). Extracts from the transcripts of the audio-taped discourse data will be presented to demonstrate the range of code-switching behaviour observed in the nursery classroom. The types of switches observed, will be described and the range of discourse and communicative functions which they perform will be outlined. Analysis will focus firstly, on the children's utterances, rather than the teachers'.

The most frequently occurring type of code-switch identified from the data is lexical code-switches. These follow a particular pattern. Lexical code-switches into English occur in sustained utterances in Mirpuri-Panjabi. This type of code-switch into English lexis can be observed across all informants as the following extracts from the data demonstrate:

Imran: good girl	(Transcript 2 Line 103)
Azia: good girl	(Transcript 2 Line 162)
Kamran: Teacher (used as a form of address)	(Transcript 4 Line 11)
Shazia: bye bye	(Transcript 3 Line 114)

There is also evidence of inter-sentential code-switches. Some examples include:

Sabia (in conversation with Bilingual T7):

P just come here, just come here, I'll show you something P

(Transcript 6 Line 27)

Rabila (engaged in a painting activity with other children with T1 and T2 present:

P round and round P

(Transcript 5 Line 87)

The following extracts from the transcripts illustrate further examples of intersentential and lexical switches into English.

Kamran, during a storytelling session with bilingual T4, Azia and Imran, repeats the line of the story that he has just heard read by the teacher. He says:

the mouse ... drip, drip, drip

(Transcript 1 Line 7)

Shazia is at a painting activity with T1, Ishtiaq and other children when her mother arrives at the nursery. She says: *bye, bye* (Transcript 3 Line 114) to the group with whom she has been painting, before leaving the activity to go over to greet her mother. The group includes both bilinguals and monolinguals. Her choice of English can be explained as the language that she thought would be understood by all group participants in the group, monolinguals and bilinguals.

Kamran (Transcript 4 Line 11) is in the book corner with Imran. They are speaking Mirpuri-Panjabi. He calls: *Teacher* as a form of address to attract an adult's attention. The conversation continues in the community language. Later on the same day Kamran is with Imran and a bilingual classroom assistant T4 in the home corner (Domain 5). They are looking at a book and T4 is reading it to them:

T4 (reading from a book): *mom give him cheese and he just won't have that, mammy starts to cry, he won't have anything, I'm so worried about him, then the children go, I know, why don't you give him (pause) a mango*

Kamran: *P* (says the word for mango in Panjabi)

(Transcript 4 Line 274).

Rabila (Transcript 5 Line 87) is at a painting activity with T1, T2 and other children. She is speaking Mirpuri-Panjabi to herself and laughing. She code-switches into English to say *round and round* (with the intonation that suggests to the teachers that she is reciting a well-known rhyme, 'Round and round the garden like a teddy bear'). T2 comments as an aside to T1: *that's familiar* (Transcript 5 Line 88).

The range of code-switches identified from this corpus may differ in extent and range from those reported in other findings. This can be explained in a number of ways. Li Wei (1994:151) suggests that:

it is a mistake to assume that code-switching occurs in all bilingual communities on all occasions.

He suggests that in language shift situations:

code-switching occurs only between certain speakers in certain contexts.

Li Wei (1994:151)

It should also be remembered that code-switching is a sophisticated use of language which requires speakers to combine two linguistic systems. The children in this study are still very young and are at an early stage in their language development. Children aged around three years are not expected to have full command of all of the standard forms of one language. The predominance of lexical code-switches found in this corpus can therefore perhaps be accounted for in terms of the informants' age and their stage of language development at the time of the recordings.

There are other descriptions of code-switching behaviour that focus on the social rather than the linguistic features. Scotton (1976) Heller (1982) and Gumperz (1982) all describe code-switching as a verbal strategy that represents the ways in which the linguistic resources available to an individual speaker may vary according to the

demarcation of social boundaries within a given community. From their descriptions, code-switching can be regarded as a diverse linguistic resource from which an individual speaker may draw to communicate effectively. Bilingual children therefore have a choice of languages available for selected interactions. The children in the study make a choice between using English, Mirpuri-Panjabi or a mixture of the two. Code-switching as a language choice remains the linguistic privilege of those individuals who can speak and understand more than one language.

Although there is evidence from the data of the children using some of the code-switching behaviours described in previous studies it is not possible for a monolingual researcher to provide a more detailed analysis of these code-switches. However, there is an aspect of the code-switching behaviour that it is possible for a monolingual researcher to comment upon. These include features already established but (to date) not widely reported. This focus includes a description of code-switching that goes beyond the actual utterances spoken by the informants to a description of code-switching that addresses contextual aspects of language use.

To make a link between code-switching as language choice and the description of language as socio-semiotic outlined in Chapter 4, it is necessary to inspect more closely the role of code-switching in the turn-by-turn organisation of the interactions between the informants and their interlocutors. Conversational Analysis offers a means of doing this. The principles of Conversational Analysis have been outlined by Auer (1991) and the American ethnomethodologists including Garfinkel (1967) and Sacks et al (1974). These approaches focus on the organisation of interactions between individuals in their exchanges. They reinforce the systemic linguistic description of talk as a social activity. One important feature of Conversational Analysis is the significance it attaches to turn-taking within the organisation of an exchange. Discourse is organised into a sequence of exchanges, with one speaker's turn (or discourse contribution) leading to that of another speaker. This sequential organisation

of conversation has been described by Schegloff & Sacks (1973). They use the term 'adjacency pair' to describe the paired utterances that occur. Adjacency pairs are sequentially constrained in that the first utterance of the pair creates the environment for the second utterance of the exchange. Schegloff & Sacks (1973) describe a number of prototypes of adjacency pairs which include formulaic exchanges (in English) like question-answer sequences and greetings. Central to this concept of adjacency pairs is that the first speaker establishes conditionally relevant expectations for their discourse partner(s). Interlocutors can fail to fulfil the conditionally relevant expectations by uttering inappropriate second pair parts in their exchange. This 'noticeable absence' is frequently perceived as a lack of communicative competence on the part of the second speaker. When the second speaker is a bilingual pupil, the resulting assessment can have unfortunate consequences. To date, little is known about the patterns of bilingual discourse in UK primary school classrooms. A sequential analysis of code-switching at the level of turn-taking provides an overview of the recurring patterns of language choice based on data from the corpus. These prevalent patterns of the bilingual pupils' language are illustrated in Figures 10.1 and 10.2.

These diagrams illustrate the generic pattern of code-switching strategies observed in the nursery data. Speaker 1 sets the scene with their choice of language. This will be termed the *frame language* (FL). When the frame language is English and Speaker 2 is a monolingual English speaker then there are only three discourse options available to that speaker. English has to be the language of the next utterance. Acceptable alternatives are silence, or a non-verbal response. However, when English is the frame language and Speaker 2 is a bilingual discourse participant, then there is a total of five discourse options available, in addition to silence and a non-verbal response. These discourse options can be identified as:

Discourse Option 1	Silence
Discourse Option 2	Non-verbal response
Discourse Option 3	English
Discourse Option 4	Mirpuri-Panjabi
Discourse Option 5	English with subsequent code-switch (CS) into Mirpuri-Panjabi
Discourse Option 6	English with two subsequent code-switches: CS1 into Mirpuri-Panjabi; CS2 into English
Discourse Option 7	Mirpuri-Panjabi with subsequent code-switch back into English

Discourse Option 1, silence is sometimes misunderstood by teachers as lack of understanding on the part of the child. This may not always be the case. A child may have understood what has been said by a speaker but may lack the linguistic and social knowledge of appropriate response. Discourse Options 2 non-verbal response, is equally open to misinterpretation. Gestures, facial expressions, eye contact are all examples of non-verbal responses. Non-verbal behaviours are linked to language systems. They are open to mis-understanding in cross-cultural interactions. Discourse Options 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 all require understanding of both linguistic systems and the accompanying rules of social behaviour.

Generic patterns of exchanges that begin with Mirpuri-Panjabi as the frame language present a similar range of discourse options for bilingual discourse participants:

Discourse Option 1	Silence
Discourse Option 2	Non-verbal response
Discourse Option 3	Mirpuri-Panjabi
Discourse Option 4	English
Discourse Option 5	Mirpuri-Panjabi with subsequent code switch into English
Discourse Option 6	Mirpuri-Panjabi with two subsequent code-switches: CS1 into English; CS2 into Mirpuri-Panjabi
Discourse Option 7	English with subsequent code-switch back into Mirpuri-Panjabi

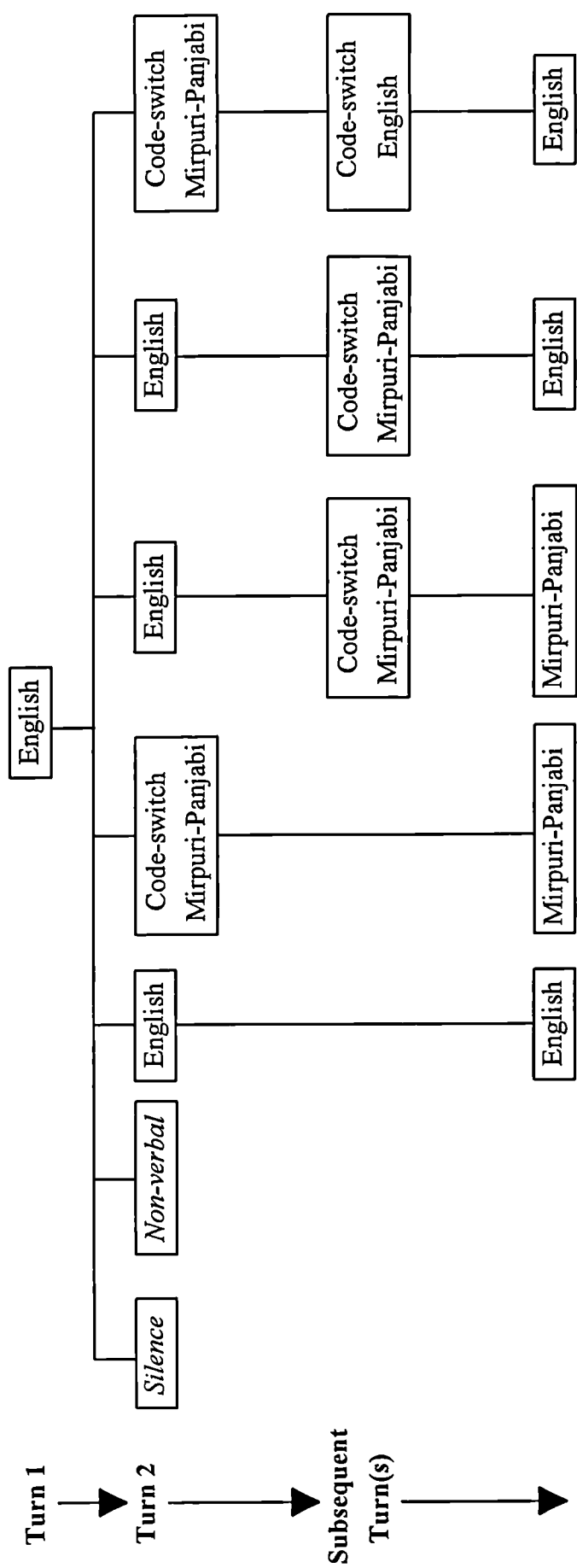


Figure 10.1 Generic patterns of adjacency pairs for bilingual discourse beginning in English

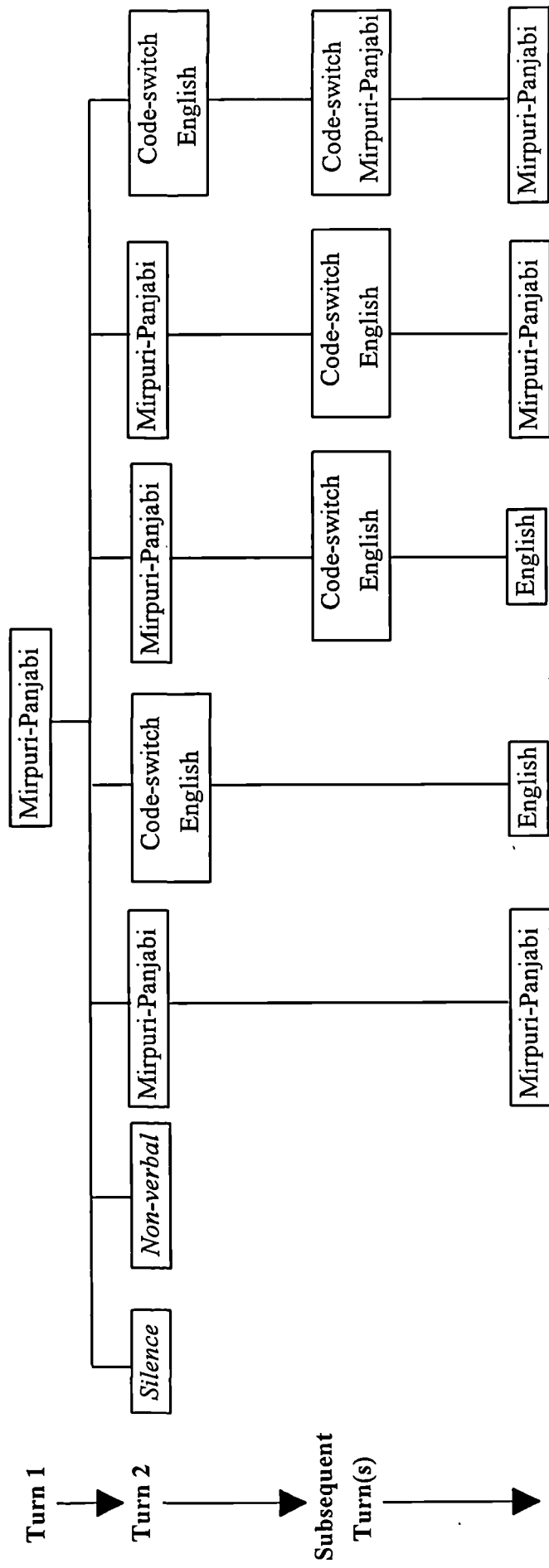


Figure 10.2 Generic patterns of adjacency pairs for bilingual discourse beginning in Mirpuri-Panjabi

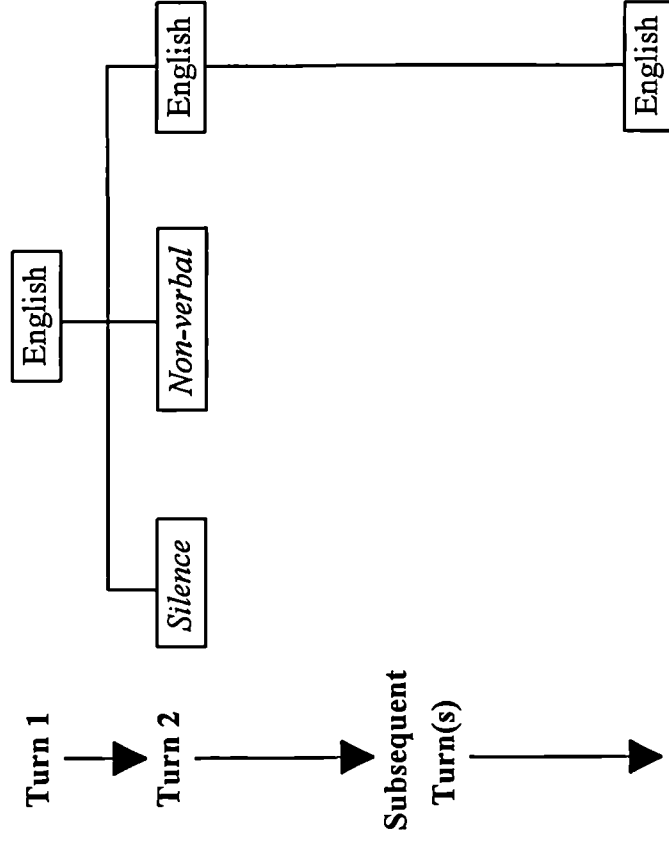


Figure 10.3 Discourse options available to monolingual speakers

For the bilingual discourse participant, the frame language of an interaction is important. Figures 10.1 and 10.2 outline the generic pattern of discourse options available to bilinguals. Both Figures 10.1 and 10.2 identify a chain of possible linguistic outcomes that are available only to bilinguals. The options available to monolingual speakers are reduced. These are presented in Figures 10.3.

Li Wei (1994:153) states that 'different bilingual communities or groups within a community ... adopt different code-switching strategies'. It is not therefore suggested that the two generic patterns of code-switching and language choice outlined in Figures 10.1 and 10.2 are appropriate structural models to describe patterns of code-switching behaviours in other contexts. The claim is merely that in the current corpus, it is possible to identify code-switching that occurs at the boundaries of turn-taking. A discourse participant may, when taking the floor (or a turn) alter the development of the discourse through their choice of language code.

In keeping with the description of discourse offered by Conversational Analysis, a speaker's decision to change the discourse code at any point in the interaction impacts on the subsequent organisation and code of the on-going exchange. If code-switching is viewed as a linguistic resource that is only available to bilinguals, it is possible to regard it as purposeful (if often unconscious) linguistic behaviour. Although the children in this study do not use all three types of code-switching behaviour previously described, closer examination of interactions where code-switches do occur demonstrates specific communicative strategies of code-switches that coincide with turn-taking. The following examples illustrate this.

Transcript 2 Lines 93-181 (Imran Day 2) is a conversation between Imran and Azia. It is the third activity of the day. They are in Domain 13 working at clay modelling. They are engaged in a sustained interaction. The language chosen for most of their utterances is Mirpuri-Panjabi. T1 is nearby but she is not actually working with them,

nor does she talk directly to them. T2 passes by as they are working and talking. She does address a comment to them. Closer examination of the interactions where code-switches occur demonstrates the speakers' strategies:

98	Imran:	P (I want it)
99	T1:	Stuart, don't go outside
100	Azia:	oh no, no, no, no, no eeh
101	Imran:	P (I want it for my clay)
102	Azia:	(sounds upset)
103	Imran:	P (yours is finished)
104	T2:	what are you making, you've made a biscuit, mm I like biscuits
105		Imran and Azia conversation in Panjabi
106	Imran:	P
107	Azia:	P

Azia's switch into English (Line 100) performs the function of maintaining her interests. She is demonstrating her determination to keep the shape cutter that she is using for the modelling. There is no obvious explanation for her choice of English for this utterance. However, one possible explanation is that she is aware of the presence of the two monolingual teachers who are both within hearing distance. If she is using English as a way of attracting their attention in the hope of getting them to intervene, then there are two points to be made. Firstly, if this is the case then she is demonstrating an awareness of the norms of classroom conventions. Teachers are in authority and are willing to intervene. Secondly, she is successful in her utterance. T2 intervenes and indirectly stops Imran from taking the shape cutter. Viewed in this way, the above example of code-switching confirms the view that it is not random behaviour. Code-switching into English serves a specific discourse function and can therefore be viewed as a speaker's choice. It may however, remain at an intuitive level of language behaviour. The second code-switch into Mirpuri-Panjabi coincides with Azia's discourse turn. It can be interpreted as exerting an impact on the second speaker, Imran and his choice of Mirpuri-Panjabi for his utterance. Her choice of English offers an opportunity for a monolingual English speaker to become a participant in the discourse.

The ability to code-switch requires sophisticated understanding of a number of levels of language use. Firstly, it requires knowledge of both linguistic systems. However, not all speakers use their linguistic competence in both of the languages that they speak to code-switch. Li Wei (1994:151) suggests that code-switching is related to the interlocutor(s) being addressed and the context in which the utterances are spoken. If it is accepted therefore that code-switching is context bound and addressee specific, it is important to note more precise details of the occurrences in the classroom.

Code-switching as a discourse choice has been noted for all of the informants. The examples cited represent only a sample of the code-switches noted in the data. In the transcripts (Appendix D) code-switches are coded using the symbol \mathfrak{D} . At the time of transcript coding no attempt was made to distinguish between the types of code-switching behaviours recorded. The subsequent patterns only emerged when analysing the transcripts. No attempt has been made to re-code the transcripts retrospectively. Hence, the type of code-switch (lexical, inter-sentential, intra-sentential or co-occurring with a discourse turn) is not coded.

Recent research in code-switching has addressed a broader range of anthropological and sociological issues concerning the relationship between linguistic and social processes, the individual speaker's interpretation of experience and their construction of social reality. These studies suggest that code-switching behaviour is used by speakers to convey a range of social, discourse and referential meanings. For example, Heller (1984:03) suggests that to focus on code-switching as a linguistic variable can help researchers to understand the wider relationship between social processes and linguistic forms. She believes that this is possible because social and linguistic boundaries are signalled more overtly in multilingual settings and thus it is easier for the researcher to observe the relationship between the two. This point is further reinforced by a later observation (Heller, 1988:81) when she maintains that

observing code-switching behaviour offers opportunities for the interpretation of social action that would not be available from observations of a single language.

Pride & Holmes (1972) also perceive the link between individual's choice of language and a broader social perspective:

the study of social meaning conveyed by different languages in a multilingual community can be undertaken at two levels, the one logically preceding the other. In the first place one can examine the way languages are used on the macro-scale, using large-scale surveys to reveal community norms of language use. Then against this background one can examine how the individual exploits ... awareness of the society's norms in order to achieve particular effects.

Pride & Holmes (1972:07)

This broader perspective on code-switching as sociolinguistic behaviour is also taken by Gal in her 1988 paper, *The Political Economy of Code Choice*. In this paper she interprets code-switching practices not only as a conversational device that can maintain or change personal relationships and ethnic group boundaries but also as a symbolic creation concerned with the construction of self and others within a broader political economic and historical context. This descriptive rationale for code-switching provides important insights into the language choices of the informants in the nursery setting. Heller (1988) extends Gal's arguments and suggests that code-switching behaviour can best be understood by locating it within the speech economy of the community in which it occurs.

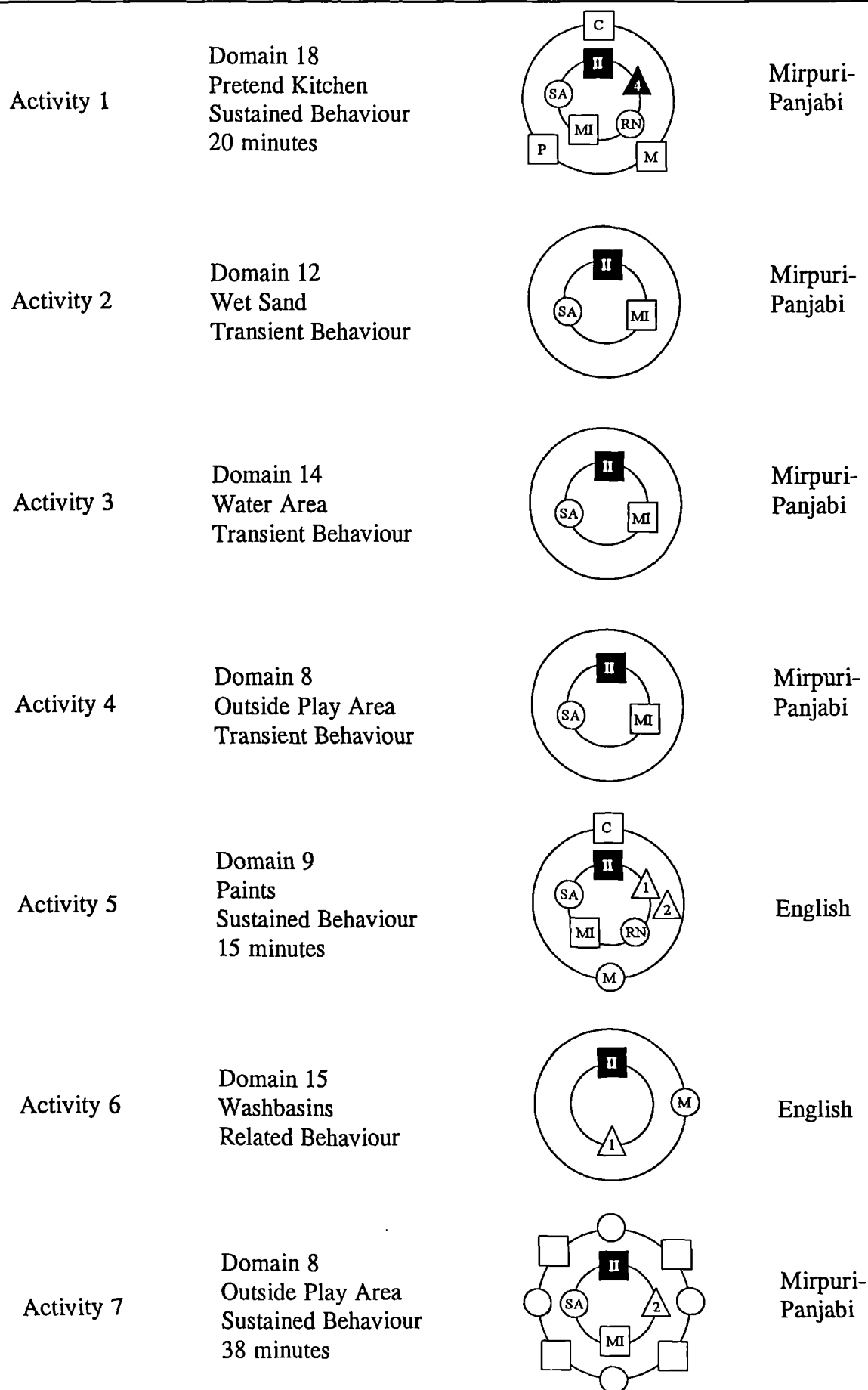
From the data it is possible to identify patterns of preferred language use in specific domains. It is possible to identify times when an individual informant speaks English and when they speak Mirpuri-Panjabi. Using the individual informant profiles as a basis, the *dominant* language used by each of the informants in specific domains of the nursery can be identified. The dominant language of the setting will be termed the *preferred language*. It is determined by the actual number of utterances recorded in

each language (English or Mirpuri-Panjabi) within each domain. It is important to stress that the language identified as the dominant or matrix one is **not** necessarily the sole language recorded during the interactions. Code-switching also occurs in these domains, at these times.

By matching this level of analysis with the previous analyses of time on task (Chapter 6) and social network ties (Chapter 8) an interesting trend can be observed. In the activities where the groupings are self-selected friendship groupings, the dominant language spoken is the home language, Mirpuri-Panjabi. The same trend can be noted for interactions with bilingual teachers (T4 and T7). These are also the activities where the informants spend sustained periods of time on task. Figures 10.4 and 10.5 demonstrates this general trend for one informant, Ishtiaq, on Days One and Two in the nursery. However, even in these situations there is evidence of code-switching.

10.3 Language and Ethnic Identity

One interpretation of preferred language use and codes-switching is that language use is an explicit statement of an individual's self-perceived identity. However, identity so defined can operate on a number of levels. It can relate to an affiliation with a number of non-linguistic variables, including age, gender, or membership of a religious group. An individual's particular language choice in a given social situation will be open to a number of influences, in addition to the linguistic factors. These factors may act as either constraining or enabling the range of language choices available to the speaker. However, they do not necessarily remain constant. The ability to perform a linguistic act of identity will always be dependent upon the language varieties (idelect, accents, dialects and languages) available to an individual in their personal linguistic repertoire. An individual may elect to perform acts of identity which make statements about themselves. The force of the statement will depend in part upon the



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

Figure 10.4 Preferred Language Use within Ishtiaq's Social Networks on his first day in Box Hill Nursery

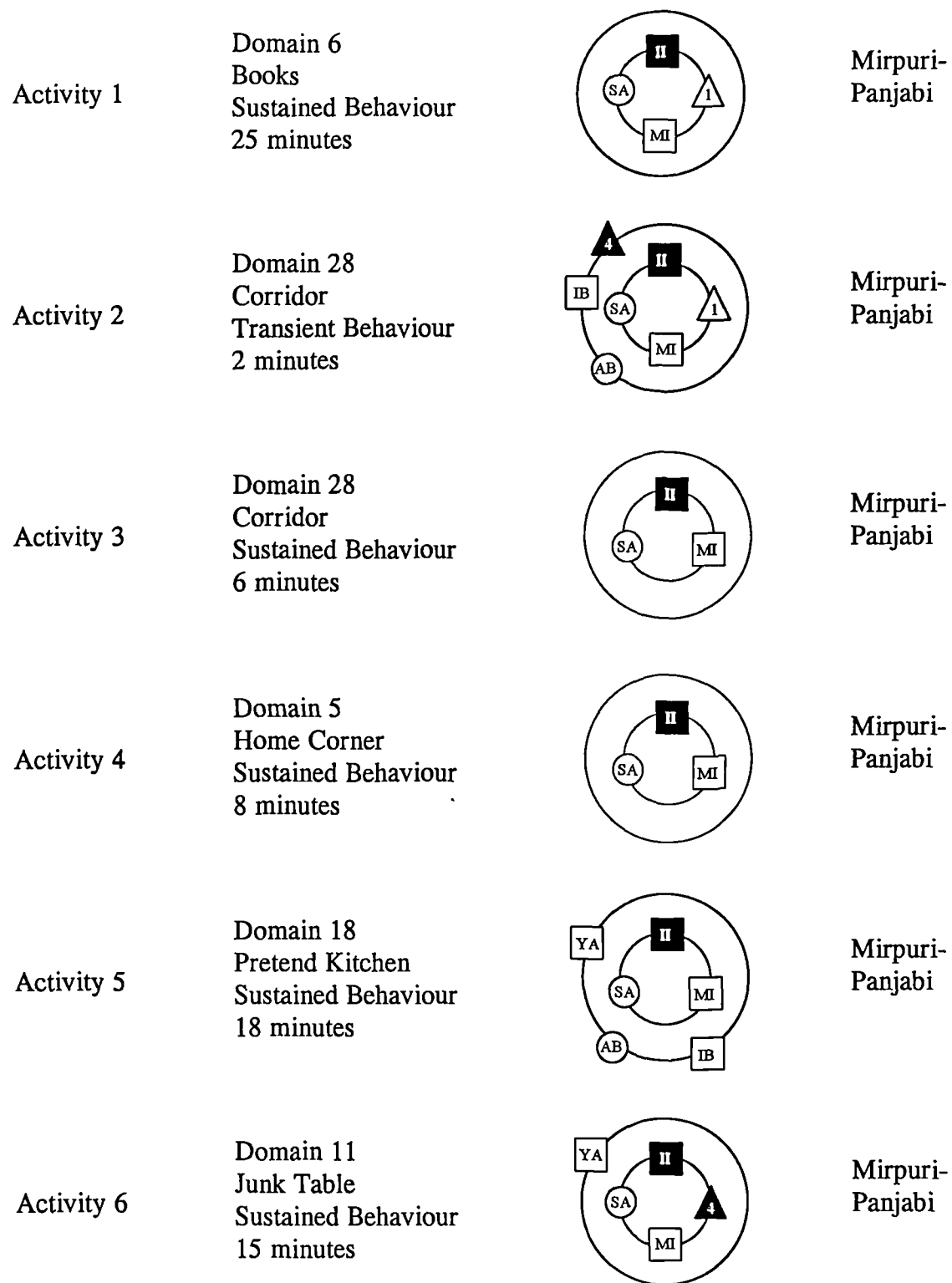


Figure 10.5 Preferred Language Use within Ishtiaq's Social Networks at the end of the first term in Box Hill Nursery

individual's communicative competence and in part upon the competence of their audience to comprehend their act(s).

The linguistic element is only one component of the statement of self which the children are performing when they select a particular language for their interaction(s). In their use of English, the children in this study are not merely demonstrating their language learning proficiency, they are also demonstrating that they are simultaneously learning the relative position of Mirpuri-Panjabi in the linguistic hierarchy of present day British society. Gal (1988) suggests that code-switching or preferred language use reveals the workings of social and cultural processes at a number of levels. Language use in interpersonal interactions is evidence of an awareness of the unequal power relations that exist. It represents the individual's (or group's) response to the material and cultural domination which they feel. Code-switching as described, can be taken as clear evidence that speakers have been enculturated into the dominant society's language, English. However, it can also be understood as evidence of simultaneous enculturation into the dominant society's values. The children have quickly learned the relative position of Mirpuri-Panjabi in the stratified linguistic structure of present day British society.

The formation of ethnic identity has been studied from both the psychological perspective (for an overview see Gudykunst, 1988) and the social (Gal, 1988; Heller, 1988 and Milroy, 1980). The focus chosen for this analysis is the latter. This view of ethnic identity as a social construct is compatible with other descriptions foregrounded as theoretical frameworks: language as socio-semiotic (Halliday, 1973; 1975; & 1978; and Malinowski, 1923/66; 1935/66); social network analysis (Barnes, 1954, Gumperz, 1977b and Milroy, 1980); and bilingualism as an act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). This view of ethnic identity underlines the centrality of social organisation in accomplishing the tasks of everyday life and places the individual at the centre of a complex social organisation or ecology (Haugen, 1972).

These descriptions view ethnic identity as the product of participation in social networks. This social organisation which goes beyond the actual situation in which the interactions are taking place, also reinforces a dynamic description of ethnic identity and language use.

10.4 Discussion of Data

The data presented demonstrate the ways in which individual speakers use language to construct meaning in negotiation with their interlocutors. When the speakers are bilingual, their discourse may also be described as bilingual. Bilingual discourse can be described as the use of two languages combined to perform a set of communicative functions. It could be argued that bilingual discourse, the combination of two linguistic systems, is capable of allowing speakers to perform an enhanced range of communicative functions when compared with monolingual speakers who are using only one language. The ability to draw upon two linguistic systems for communication puts bilingual speakers (child and adult) at an advantage when compared with monolingual speakers. It means that they can perform and understand a wider range of communicative acts. Informants in this study can use Mirpuri-Panjabi only, English only, or combine Mirpuri-Panjabi with English to perform a range of code-switches at phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactical, semantic and organisational levels of language use. This link between micro-sociolinguistic factors, language choice and ethnic identity of the speakers is a view confirmed by Bourhis (1979:119) who identified features including 'the topic, setting, and purposes of conversation, as well as characteristics of the interlocutors' as factors that influence language choice. These factors encompass Hymes' (1972b) taxonomy of situational determinants of speech as significant influences on individuals' language behaviour in given social contexts.

10.5 Situational Code-switching

Situational code-switching is identified in the literature as a common form of code-switching behaviour. Situational switches are influenced by micro-sociolinguistic factors. They occur when the individual speaker's choice of language is guided by the prevailing rules and social norms of behaviour in a given situation. In these contexts switches can occur to mark in-group and out-group boundaries. Code-switching in these contexts can be observed when an in-group speaker intersperses their utterances with switches from the language of the out-group language. In the case of the Box Hill Nursery switches can be regarded as a device for maintaining and reinforcing ethnic group boundaries.

The data presented in this chapter demonstrate one facet of the children's linguistic repertoire. The range of language(s) that an individual can speak and/or understand can be likened to a personal life history or an autobiography. This linguistic autobiography is open to a number of influences and changes. It does not exist in isolation. It is part of a finely balanced eco-system. These individual linguistic repertoires will be termed a *linguistic biography*. The concept of a linguistic biography will be presented in detail in Chapter 11. It has been demonstrated that even in the pre-school context there is significant evidence of language shift in individual repertoires. This demonstrated shift in individual's preferred language use away from Panjabi towards English, the dominant language, demonstrates the impact that formal language planning policy at national level exerts on some individual speakers in public domains. Towards the end of the first term in formal education, none of the bilingual children is observed speaking only Mirpuri-Panjabi even within the dense network of preferred interlocutors.

10.6 The Discourse of Schools

Recent studies in systemic linguistics have aimed to describe the generic patterns of discourse that define specific social contexts. The school as a specific social context has been described in linguistic terms. Wilkinson (1982) describes it as 'a unique communicative event'. Barton (1994:177) suggests that schools are best understood as 'strange, not as normal'. He suggests that language plays a role in maintaining these 'strange' school practices, which he describes as follows:

there are all sorts of practices which children are learning in schools: children are learning to conform, to be part of large groups, to sit still, to be regulated by time. Schools have their own ground rules of what you are allowed to do and what not, including rules about who may talk, when, to whom, and what about. These ground rules are different from those of home and community. There are many ways in which schools socialise children by the organisation of day-to-day rhythms of schooling; language use is a central part of this.

Barton (1994:179)

Fishman (1991:395) identifies education as an important institution for addressing Reversing Language Shift (RLS). It is possible to speculate that the imposition of the English language, now decisively defined through the 1988 Education Reform Act as the only official language of educational institutions in England, is certain to have impact on bilingual children's linguistic repertoire both in the school setting and beyond the school gates.

10.7 Factors Influencing Language Choice

In summary, it is possible to identify from the data a pattern of characteristics which appear to influence the individual interlocutor's language use and language choice for specific utterances. These factors include:

1. The individual child's linguistic repertoire ie the language(s) which they speak and can understand.
2. The presence of specific interlocutors, the potential participants that is, those individuals who are available for interaction, and the preferred participants, that is those selected for interactions.
3. The presence of an adult. This confirms other research findings (eg Sylva et al, 1980) that speculate on the presence of an adult as an influence on child behaviour.
4. The presence of preferred participants, or coterie of significant others (Halliday, 1978) who form the dense friendship network.

The factors that influence language choice concur with the range of social factors identified by Romaine (1989:115) as setting, topic and degree of competence. However, it should be noted that it is not suggested that it is possible to predict an individual's language use in any given situation. Rather, it is important to regard language choice as a discourse mode or communicative option which is available to bilinguals (eg Gumperz, 1982) and in common with all discourse options, it is open to external influences that make it impossible to predict outcomes even in specific interactions.

Heller (1984) observed that a child's participation in social networks is a central feature in the formation of ethnic identity. From the data presented in Chapter 8 it can be seen that dense friendship networks emerge over the first term in school. The members of this friendship network share physical emblems of their ethnic identity. These indicate membership of a Pakistani background and of the Islamic community. They also share a common linguistic repertoire. The pattern of language choice or preferred language use within the networks demonstrates the tendency to use Mirpuri-Panjabi with those interlocutors who form the dense network. This may be understood as an explicit statement of perceived identity or an act of linguistic solidarity. In terms

of Le Page & Tabouret-Keller's description of bilingualism, this preferred use of Mirpuri-Panjabi can be understood as a statement of an individual's values and their view of the world. It can be seen as an act that reinforces friendship boundaries. While the use of English can be seen as reinforcing separation and difference between the boundaries of the dense and loose networks which are ethnically determined.

10.8 Summary

To summarise, Chapters 9 and 10 present data of the children's naturally occurring language use. Data from the audio-taped recordings of the children on their first and last day in the nursery have been analysed and the number of recorded utterances in English and Mirpuri-Panjabi have been compared. Analysis reveals:

1. An increase in the number of utterances recorded in English over the term.
2. The combined use of English and Mirpuri-Panjabi in some utterances.
3. Four types of code-switches, lexical, inter-sentential, intra-sentential and switches that correspond with discourse turns.
4. Two generic patterns of language choice available to bilinguals.
5. The use of code-switching as a metaphorical device for establishing and consolidating group membership of the dense network of preferred participants.
6. Patterns of preferred language use that vary according to interlocutors, settings and activities.

A number of influences on the individual informant's language choice or preferred language use have been identified. It has been suggested that the choice of a particular language for a given interaction is a matter of individual choice. In making these choices between one of the languages (English or Mirpuri-Panjabi) in their repertoire, or a combination of the two (code-switching), bilingual children are demonstrating a

developing communicative competence and an emerging metalinguistic awareness of the rules that govern appropriate language use in social contexts.

This chapter concludes the data analysis. Chapter 11 will build on the data analyses presented in Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 to argue the case for viewing language development as a way in which individuals' expand and extend their linguistic repertoire and create a *linguistic biography* that reflects a number of elements from their life experiences. These include the social contexts in which they have participated and the people with whom they have interacted for a range of purposes.

Finally, to return to our starting point and to the linguistic description of language as social semiotic which views language use and social behaviour as inseparable, in the words of Malinowski:

a statement spoken in real time is never detached from the situation in which it was uttered ... the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation.

Malinowski (1935/66:310-311)

Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10 of data analysis have reinforced this view of the interdependence of the social and language behaviours of young bilingual children and have gone some way to supporting Malinowski's view of language as social action with reference to a particular group of young bilingual children who are learning a number of participant roles simultaneously. They are learning to be pupils, they are learning to be bilingual, and they are learning to be members of a minority ethnic community now permanently settled in Britain. Language plays a central role in all of these activities. They differ from monolingual pupils with whom they share the role of apprentice pupil, in that they require different languages for their social roles. They need to use both English the dominant societal language and their home and community language Mirpuri-Panjabi. This is important for a number of social and personal reasons:

language is a means of becoming a member of one's own culture, but it also enables one to participate in the social life of members from another culture. Learning ... languages is learning how to behave linguistically in other cultures. Social encounters ... organised linguistically help one in the process of becoming a member of another culture ... permanently or temporarily.

Ventola (1987:06)

new situations, new environments, new interlocutors will involve new linguistic needs and will therefore change the language configuration of the person involved.

Grosjean (1990:107)

CHAPTER 11

ECOLINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHIES

Everything about you ... ties you to something
else: parents, the time in which you live. Who
you are is where you come from.

Penelope Lively
Perfect Happiness 1985:162

CHAPTER 11 - ECOLINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHIES

11.0 Introduction

In conclusion to the data analyses presented in earlier chapters, this chapter will present a framework for understanding individuals' social and language behaviour in the social setting of Box Hill Nursery School. It will be suggested that individuals' developing communicative competence, including the linguistic repertoire, can be understood as an *ecolinguistic biography* that is subject to a number of influences. These influences will be described. It will be suggested that the number and range of influences account in part for the dynamic nature of an individual's linguistic repertoire.

11.1 The Concept of Ethnicity

Chapters 2 and 8 detailed the difficulties encountered in ascribing individual and sense of identity to nation state boundaries. There are historical and geographical features which combine to make this particularly problematic for British born people of ethnic Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian origin. The concept of ethnicity therefore, has been proposed as an alternative social categorisation appropriate to these groups. The concept of ethnicity is closely related to the value system and perceptions of the person attempting the definition. These definitions have varied. They include Fishman's (1989:05) definition of ethnicity as 'an aspect of collectivity's self recognition in the eyes of the outsider'; Gudykunst and Schmidt's (1988:01) succinct definition 'social identity' and Karl Marx who predicted the extinction of ethnic groups, asking 'why should one continue to belong to archaic cultural groupings when one could become a worker?' (Roosens, 1989:09). Other definitions include identifying characteristics. Edwards' (1985) definition states:

ethnic identity is allegiance to a group:- large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but the same sense of group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc) or by more subjective combinations to a sense of 'groupness' or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distance a remove, to an observably real past.

Edwards (1985:10)

This definition suggests internally perceived features, the subjective, together with externally acknowledge features, the objective.

Thus it can be seen that the term ethnic identity is used to represent a wide range of phenomena, including what Gans (1979) terms 'symbolic ethnicity'. For the purposes of the present discussion the multi-faceted phenomenon ethnicity or ethnic identity will be defined as synonymous with the term *unique identity*. Three characteristic features of unique identity (or ethnicity) are presumed:

- i) the collective term for group identity is self-ascribed
- ii) membership is self-selecting and voluntary
- iii) defining characteristics are dynamic and may change over time.

The existence of a self-selected group relies in part on the existence of other individuals and groups who are not included in its membership. This marking of ethnic identity by boundary phenomena was first clarified by Barth (1969), who argued that it was misleading to define ethnicity in terms of specific and unchanging characteristics. He suggests an alternative. Namely, that the ethnic identity of a particular group is created through the juxtaposition of that group alongside other existing groups. Within this definition, group is the notion of group solidarity and collective identity which originates not from internal features or shared characteristics

but from comparison with other groups and other individuals. Barth acknowledged that boundary markers between groups do not remain static but vary from situation to situation and over time. Barth (1969:11) suggests a fundamental distinguishing feature in determining ethnicity. He suggests that if a group (or an individual):

identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order,

Barth (1969:11)

then that group (or person) can claim separate ethnicity. It will be regarded as distinctive. In other words, group identity can be seen to originate in two ways. Either unique identity can be regarded as having its origins in shared internal characteristics, or from the presence or absence of specific characteristics in comparison with other external agencies. The definition of ethnicity can stem from either the presence or the absence of unique, defining features. In this sense Barth's (1969) definition can be held as different from Edwards' (1985) definition which suggests that both sets of characteristics are required to be apparent before unique identity or ethnicity can be claimed.

The approach favoured by Barth (1969) is an appropriate departure for the clarification of the related concepts of ethnic group, ethnic identity and own culture. Barth states that there should be a distinction between the ethnic organisation of a group and the ethnic identification of individuals within that group. He points out that an ethnic group is first of all, a form of social organisation, in which the participants themselves make use of certain cultural traits from their past, a past which may or may not be verifiable historically.

The cultural traits by which an ethnic group defines itself never comprises the totality of the observable culture. The traits only combine some characteristics that the actors (or in group members) ascribe to themselves and which they consider relevant. These

traits can be replaced by others in the course of time. For the identification of the ethnic group, it is sufficient that a social border be drawn between itself and similar groups by means of a few cultural emblems and values that make it different in its own eyes and the eyes of others (Roosens, 1989:12). Barth points out that the intensity with which a group profiles itself as an ethnic group, and with which individuals stress their ethnicity, generally increases when there is intense spatial-geographical and social contact between groups. More isolated 'traditional' groups are probably less clearly ethnically defined. Ethnic groups are generally most clearly delineated in areas that have only one form of overarching political organisation. This view is however, debatable.

Of all definitions and descriptions of ethnicity the most prevailing view is probably that of Barth. Barth (1969) describes the ethnic group as a social vessel and suggests that ethnic self-affirmation is always related in one way or another to the defence of social or economic interests. Many people change their ethnic identity only if they can profit by doing so. This view is supported by Glazer and Moynihan (1975) who view ethnicity solely in material terms in a struggle for material goods and status, in short for economic well-being and survival.

Barth attempts to define the concept of ethnic group from an anthropological perspective based on internal characteristics and traits. He states:

it is important to recognise that although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. Not only do ecological variations mark and exaggerate difference; some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied.

Barth (1969:14)

This definition of ethnic group makes certain assumptions about the nature of the group which Barth (1969:10-11) outlines as:

1. largely biologically self-perpetuating.
2. sharing fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms.
3. making up a field of communication and interaction.
4. a membership which defines itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

This ideal type definition is not so far removed in content from the traditional proposition that a race equals a culture, equals a language; and that a society equals a unit which rejects or discriminates against others. However, it does differ in significant respects. Barth sets out his main objection to this ideal type definition in the following way:

such a formulation prevents us from understanding the phenomenon of ethnic groups and their place in human society and culture. This is because it begs all the critical question: while purporting to give an ideal type model of a recurring empirical form, it implies a preconceived view of what are the significant factors in the genesis, structure and function of such groups.

Barth (1969:10-11)

There are other objections to the traditional definition of a race equals a culture, equals a language. Most critically, it allows us to assume that boundary maintenance remains unproblematic and could be taken to imply that racial differences, cultural differences, social separation and language barriers, amount to organised enmity. It denies spontaneity. This traditional definition also limits the range of factors used to explain cultural diversity. It suggests that each group develops its cultural and social form(s) and traditions in relative isolation, perhaps chiefly in response to local ecological factors or through a history of adaptation by intervention and selective borrowing. However, groups in isolation could not borrow. Adaptation in the face of

intervention, welcome or imposed, is familiar to historians. This is not borne out in reality. History has not produced a world of separate peoples, each with their own cultures and languages, separately organised into what is known as communities or a society. Indeed, it is frequently difficult to isolate these factors even for legitimate description. So for a number of reasons the traditional definition of a race equated to a culture, with a language remains unsatisfactory.

In contrast with this definition with its emphasis on separate, discrete groups, Barth (1969) presents the concept of an ethnic group as a form of social organisation in which the participants themselves make use of cultural traits from their past (a past which may or may not be verifiable historically). These traits are postulated as external emblems (clothing, languages etc), and correspond closely to those emblems of ethnicity identified by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:209). Other researchers (eg Tajfel, 1978) complement Barth's concept of ethnic group with psychological factors defined as:

that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his (or her) knowledge of his (or her) membership in a social group (or groups) together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership.

Tajfel (1978:63)

In addition to Tajfel, there are others who draw their definitions of ethnic identity from non-economic, psycho-social dimensions of individuals (eg Roosens, 1989; De Vos, 1975; and Epstein, 1978). They share the belief that in order to understand the dynamic force of individual and collective ethnic self-affirmation individuals must be set within their own social dimension. Their concept of identity can be linked with the social psychology of the internal intrapsychic dimensions of 'self' that complements the social dimension of 'others'. Both internal and external dimensions are interwoven. Individuals experience the sense of belonging to a specific social category, network or group and for the duration of their membership or belonging,

they are partially determined by it. Individual members are simultaneously like, and different from, others who also belong to the same group. In turn, the group and its individual members are different from others who are members of comparable social units or groupings. This description allows each individual member to belong to several social units of collective identity simultaneously. At any one time, an individual may belong to a groups known as a profession, a family, a religion, a political party to name just a few of the many possibilities.

From this set of collective identities, it may be that a hierarchy of individual identities emerges. This hierarchy of self-ascribed identities would be different for individual members. It is also possible that it would also change over time and from context to context. So for example, in one context, say for example, the office, one facet of identity would be paramount, the professional; while in a different context, say for example, the supermarket, another would dominate. This change in the hierarchy of multiple identities would occur even when the participants in the contexts remain the same. For example, if a child and a parent were to attend the same school, the parent as a teacher and the child as a pupil within the context of the school the professional pupil-teacher identities would dominate. However, in a different context, for example at home or even in the car travelling to and from school, different aspects of identity, the parent-child relationship, would take over. Definitions of ethnic identity that combine social and psychological aspects, and which allow for multiple identities to co-exist simultaneously are compatible with the Hallidayan description of language as dynamic social behaviour.

Also, despite concerted national policies like the assimilationist education policy adopted in the UK throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties, collective and individual identity, based on ethnicity does not appear to be disappearing. Rather, the opposite seems to be the case. Roosens concludes:

ethnic groups are affirming themselves more and more. They promote their own, new cultural identity, even as the old identity is eroded.

Roosens (1989:09)

This view is supported by others including Glazer and Moynihan (1975) and Themstrom (1980) and can be witnessed in the recent dramatic events that are taking place in Europe. (Although these cannot be explained solely in terms of ethnicity).

The concept of ethnicity is particularly useful for descriptions of migrant groups now permanently settled within the UK. Their symbolic attachments to their past and homelands are evident in linguistic repertoires, the languages they speak and understand, rituals and celebrations that they uphold and continue, and the religious belief they observe, foster and teach to new generations. They are linked to their observable past, the homeland, through kinship and ancestry. The bonds are forged through a shared linguistic and cultural heritage. The concept of ethnicity is less ethnocentric than groupings based on national identity, which in any case would not be applicable to the new generation of migrants who are born in the UK. Neither is it applicable to those who migrated to the UK before the new nation states of Pakistan and Bangladesh were created. Language plays an important role in constructing and maintaining the ethnic identity of these groups and the new generation of children born into them.

11.2 Language and Ethnic Identity

Language and ethnic identity are related reciprocally, language use influences the formation of ethnic identity, but ethnic identity also influences language use and attitudes. This interrelationship between language and ethnic identity has been studied from a variety of perspectives. Haarman (1988) has written about the role of language in maintaining ethnic boundaries. He proposes a framework of ecological relations as a research tool for analysing the co-variance of language use and the dynamics of

environmental factors. He suggests (1988:VIII) that formalising the concept of 'acculturation', a term used to mean the adoption to foreign cultural patterns, may provide broader insights into the phenomena of changing cultural patterns. He suggests that studies of language use will provide evidence of acculturation in contrast situations. He writes:

it is precisely the most general macro level and the most specific micro level which are presently neglected in publications on ethnicity.

Haarman (1988:IX)

11.3 Language and Ethnicity: A Network of Ecological Relations

A general and comprehensive framework of human relations can best be established in terms of ecology. In Chapter 10 it was suggested that it is possible to view an individual's linguistic repertoire as a *linguistic biography*. Following the basic assumption that the interaction between ethnic groups is the result of environmental factors that influence members, phenomena which are related to a collective ethnic body's identity can be analysed in terms of ecological relations (Haarman, 1988:1). The interaction of individuals with elements of the environment reinforces the Malinowskian perspective of the centrality of context to linguistic behaviour and hence description.

The concept of linguistic ecology began when the concept of ecology was borrowed from the natural sciences. Hawley transferred the concept to sociology in the 1950's. It was Haugen in 1972 who first applied the concept to the field of sociolinguistics. He claimed:

linguists have been concerned with it (the ecology of language) in their work on language change and variability, on language contact and bilingualism, and on standardisation.

(Haugen, 1972:327)

Grimshaw's view is:

the goal is to examine the interaction of language structure and social structure and of the interim implications of speech behaviour and social behaviour.

Grimshaw (1971:93)

Language ecology should therefore cover the whole network of social relations which control the variability of languages and speakers' behaviours. The fundamental variables of language ecology are linked to speakers of a given language.

Natural language has no independence existence in social groups or society. It is always linked to individual speakers (or groups of speakers). It seems therefore appropriate to view an individual's linguistic repertoire as a linguistic biography. However, this term does not adequately conceptualise the external factors and changes that an individual linguistic biography experiences. The term ecolinguistics is however sensitive to the independence of speakers, the social contexts they create through their interactions and their particular choice of language. It emphasises the consequences of changes, no matter how small, on language use, that other elements can exert. Within an eco-system, even small changes in one aspect can effect changes co-existing quarters.

Haarman (1988: 258-260) makes six assertions that support the description of language use as an ecological system:-

1. The relativity of language in a network of ecological relations.
2. The relativity of language in the processes of ethnic fusion and fission.
3. The relativity of language in language planning activities.
4. The relativity of language in patterns of bilingual identity.
5. The relativity of language in processes of adopting foreign cultural patterns.
6. The relativity of language in a framework of prestige functions.

These are all of relevance but numbers 4 and 5 are of central importance to this study with number 3 relevant in the recommendations.

11.4 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

A more detailed framework for understanding individual's learning can be found in Bronfenbrenner's (1977 & 1979) theoretical structure of the ecology of human development. The cornerstone of his Ecological Systems Theory (EST), is introduced in 1977 and reaffirmed in subsequent works. It is defined as follows:

the ecology of human development is the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation, throughout the life course, between an active, growing human being, and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by the relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded.

Bronfenbrenner (1979:188)

Bronfenbrenner's ecological environment is conceived topologically as a nested arrangement of structures, each contained within the next. It views the child at the centre of four hierarchical levels of context; the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem. Although the detail of his definitions vary, (cf Bronfenbrenner, 1977:514-515 & Bronfenbrenner, 1979:226-230), the taxonomy of a hierarchy of systems at four levels, the micro, meso, exo and macro, remains unchanged. Bronfenbrenner's definitions of these as presented here, combine the essential elements of both the 1977 and the 1979 versions, but in an attempt to provide a succinct description, they are selective, yet not intentionally distorted. His definitions of the four levels that constitute his ecological framework of human development are:

The *microsystem* is the complex pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by a developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical and material features, in which the participants engage in particular activities in particular roles, for example, daughter, parent, teacher, employee etc, for particular periods of time, and containing other persons with distinctive characteristics of temperament, personality and systems of belief.

The *mesosystem* comprises the linkages and processes, or interrelations, taking place between two or more major settings containing the developing person at a particular point in his or her life (for example, the relations between home and school, school and the workplace). The mesosystem typically encompasses interactions among family, school, and peer group; for some children, it might also include church, summer camp or workplace. Although the latter would be less common in the United States than in some other societies... A mesosystem is a system of microsystems.

The *exosystem* is an extension of the mesosystem embracing other specific social structures, both formal and informal, that do not themselves ordinarily contain the developing person but which influence processes within the immediate settings in which that person is found, and thereby influence, delimit, or even determine what goes on there. These structures include the major institutions of the society, both deliberately structured and spontaneously evolving. They encompass, among other things, the world of work, the neighbourhood, the mass media, agencies of government (local, state and national), the distribution of goods and services, communication and transportation facilities, and informal social networks.

A *macrosystem* refers to the overarching institutional patterns of the culture or sub-culture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal, and political systems, of which micro-, meso-, and exo-systems are the concrete manifestations. Macro-systems are conceived and examined not only in structural terms but as carriers of information and ideology that, both explicitly and implicitly, endow meaning and motivation to particular agencies social networks, roles, activities, and their interrelations. What place or priority children and those responsible for their care have within such macrosystems is of special importance in determining how a child and his or her caretakers are treated and interact with each other. Patterns of social interchange are embedded in each of these systems.

Bronfenbrenner (1977:514-515)
& Bronfenbrenner (1979:226-230)

All four levels influence the child's experiences and subsequent development. There is other support for this view. Bronfenbrenner acknowledges that his conception of the environmental factors that influence an individual's learning (as foregrounded) draws heavily upon the 'topological territories' outlined by Lewin (1935). More recently Bruner (1986), Tizard & Hughes (1984) and other social psychologists have referred to what they term, 'developmental environments', but without outlining the details to the same extent. There are a number of ways in which an ecological paradigm is appropriate for describing the language development of learning of individuals. It is important to emphasise that language learning as described, as a dynamic phenomenon, is not only applicable to child learners. It remains pertinent throughout life as individuals continue to enhance individual linguistic repertoires with new forms of language which they learn in order to fulfil a wider range of personal and social functions.

At this point it seems appropriate to examine Bronfenbrenner's ecological paradigm more closely in order to explore more fully its relevance to the language development of bilingual children in nursery schools, beginning with the central tenet, the key definition of the ecology of human development which emphasises the nature of language learning as a dynamic phenomenon, influenced by but not solely determined by external influences of the immediate setting and wider societal influences. This description of language development is supported by systemic linguists, beginning with Malinowski (1923/66) and continued by others who include Firth (1957), Halliday (1978) and Harris (1952a & 1952b) who all share the view that :

a statement spoken in real life is never detached from the situation in which it was uttered ... the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation.

Malinowski (1923/66:310-311)

The microsystem is described as a complex pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations as experienced by the young child in a variety of settings, each of which can be characterised by specific physical and material features. This corresponds to what systemic linguists have termed the generic structure of social situations. A number of systemic semiotic frameworks have been described in detail. These describe the structure of social interactions in specific contexts such as doctor-patient interviews, bilingual courtroom discourse (Berk-Seligson, 1990), pupil-teacher interactions in classrooms (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) and sales service encounters (Ventola, 1987). Linguistic descriptions of the generic structures of written texts also exist. These include an account of the structure of nursery rhymes (Hasan, 1984) and stylistic analyses of both fiction (Hoey & Winter, 1982) and non-fiction texts (Hoey, 1983). All of these descriptions take account of the interdependence of the four elements (in their analyses): the discourse, the participants, the social setting and the cultural context. Indeed, the terms used by Bronfenbrenner concur with those used by linguists working both before and after the publication of his Ecological Systems Theory. This observation is in no way intended to undermine or favour any particular contribution.

There are other ways in which EST concurs with sociolinguistic descriptions of language use. Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem stresses the interrelationship between the major settings which an individual experiences in life. Although the major setting for the young child will be the home, from a very early age, children encounter new settings. These may include their own and other home settings and the nursery school setting. The settings are analogous with what linguists Fishman, Cooper & Ma refer to as domains (1971). In their research into language use of the Puerto Rican community in New York City they established, on the basis of interviews and observations, five domains in which either Spanish or English were used consistently. There is a definition for this term:

a domain is an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships.

Romaine (1989:29)

The five domains identified by Fishman, Cooper & Ma (1971) are: family, friendship, religion and education. These concur with the mesosystems contained within the EST and could be expanded in observations of different groups of speakers, to include place of work.

The value system operating within the exosystem is similar to the pressures of various kinds that have been described by linguists as influential factors operating on bilinguals' choice of language. The factors influencing language choice frequently originate outside of the immediate setting or domain but remain powerful and pervasive. These factors have been identified as economic administrative, cultural, political, and religious (Gal, 1988; Heller, 1988). They include both formal and informal social structures and include the major institutions of the society, both deliberately structured and spontaneously evolving.

Finally, Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem of the economic, social, educational, legal, and political systems, their inherent value systems and the ways in which these are conveyed to society at large also find parallels in linguistic descriptions. A series of monographs edited by Bernstein, entitled, *Primary Socialization, Language and Education*, show how in a coherent social theory a central place is occupied by language and that language is the primary means of cultural transmission. This is a view supported by linguists. For example, language as social behaviour (or socio-semiotic, Halliday, 1978) describes language use within a cultural context. While Malinowski's (1923/66) description which combines context with situation in descriptions of language use, reinforces the notion of language as potential social behaviour. The potential aspect means that from within a given framework of communicative competence or appropriate linguistic and social behaviour, there are a

number of options available to individuals. So for example, a mother or teacher attempting to regulate a child's behaviour, have a number of options available to them. They can choose from a range of strategies, including reasoning, pleading, threatening and they also have the option of non-verbal responses. Bernstein's (1971 & 1972/77) theory of language and social learning suggests that *meaning* is only *realised* when the individual (mother or teacher) selects from the *semantic options* available. Meaning is realised in social contexts when individuals select their behaviour. The chain of realisations extends from the external society, to the specific social setting and exert influence on the choices which individuals select in their (social and linguistic) behaviour. Societal conventions determine the meaning potential by determining the acceptable range of behaviours available for selection but the individuals realise acts of meaning. Societal and individual values operate to varying degrees. In these ways macro-systems transmit information and ideology, both explicitly and implicitly. They act as potential determinants of the ways in which children and caretakers are treated and interact with each other. Patterns of social interchange are embedded in each of these systems. Appropriate behaviour is culturally determined and is context specific. Learning to be a pupil in different cultures may require different patterns of behaviour (Willes, 1983). Learning a new language means learning how to behave in a new cultural context and the setting and domains (or sub cultures) within the new community. This combines appropriate linguistic and social behaviour or *communicative competence* (Hymes, 1972).

Having established conceptual similarities and common concerns between Bronfenbrenner's description of the ecology of human development and linguistic descriptions of language use, these two will now be combined to present the notion of an individual's language development and use of language as an *ecolinguistic biography*.

11.5 Defining Ecolinguistic Biographies

The concept of ecology arrived to linguistics from the natural sciences and sociology. Haugen (1972) was the first to link it to linguistics in work on bilingualism and language contact. He defined the ecology of language as:

the study of the interactions between any given language and its environment ... the true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users and it only functions in reality through these users to another.

Haugen (1972:325)

More recently, Haarmann (1988:04) proposed the following general framework:

INDIVIDUAL: GROUP: SOCIETY: STATE

There are of course a number of problems in associating individuals' language use with hierarchical societal structures that embrace state and nationhood. This is particularly true of the informants in this study who are linked through heritage and language to the region known as the former state of the Panjab, which since 1947 has become three independent nation states. These are from west to east Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, each with its own official state language, respectively, Urdu in Pakistan, Hindi in India and Bengali in Bangladesh. This linguistic heritage has direct bearing on the linguistic group described here. However, leaving aside the ascription and linkage of individuals' language use to state, the concept of ecolinguistics remains useful because of its sympathy with existing descriptions of language learning and use. For example, this concept is particularly appropriate as a framework for describing individual bilingual speakers and their language behaviour. It is a concept concomitant with the notion that natural language has no independent existence outside social groups. Language is always created by, and is therefore linked with, an individual speaker (or groups of speakers). The individual speaker is the locus of

language use. There are however a number of extraneous factors which influence individual use of language. From macro to micro level these include:

- the status of the official, state language
- the influence of language planning policy
- the domain of use for example, religious worship, family, friendship education, official etc (Fishman, Cooper & Ma, 1972)
- specific setting
- individuals present
- linguistic repertoires of those present and the awareness of this
- discourse topic
- other interlocutors

The term ecolinguistic is sensitive to this and to the interdependence of speakers and the social context which they create through their language use. Ecolinguistics acknowledges the consequences of even small changes in language use for other aspects within the contextual setting. It particularly accommodates the affective aspect of individual language use and the ways in which these can be seen to be influential on the linguistic and even physical behaviour of other interlocutors present in the contextual setting. The changes which individuals can precipitate across the linguistic chain, reinforce the notion of the individual speaker as an active agent of linguistic change. Even the small changes and accommodations which take place between individuals in their interactions can have repercussions which resound across coexisting quarters. It is suggested that the notion that ecolinguistics has three features: Relativism, Coexistence and Interdependence of speakers.

The *Relativism of Preferred Language Use* (PLU) or Language Choice (LC) refers to the ways in which speakers change the language of their interactions and codeswitch between English and Panjabi. No category of switch can be described as conclusive or

a determiner predictor of subsequent language choices. There is no way of absolutely predicting an individual's language choice in one particular setting with any individual or group of potential interlocutors. This remains consistent with Bernstein's view of potential.

The *Co-existence of speakers* is evident from the influence that an individual may exert on other speakers. For example, the mere presence of an adult exerts an influence on the language used by the children. This can be seen in Ishtiaq's use of English to Mushtifaq when he says: You can do. The *interdependence of speakers* can be demonstrated by the ways in which individual speakers create social interactions through their language. It has been demonstrated in Chapters 9 & 10 that one speaker's utterance can impact on interlocutors and subsequent events in two ways. A speaker's utterance can have consequences for others, even those not participating in the discourse. For example, Ishtiaq's interaction with Bilingual Teacher 4 carries implications for Paul and Christopher (Transcript 3 Lines 17-20). A speaker's choice of language code can influence second speakers, discourse turns and subsequent discourse contributions. Discourse involves an on-going negotiation between participants. Discourse turns are negotiated and are dependent in part on preceding speakers. Chapter 10 outlined generic patterns of adjacency pairs in the development of discourse. These patterns demonstrate the interdependency of speakers. The interdependence of speakers can be demonstrated by the ways in which discourse topics precipitate changes in preferred language use and the subsequent impact this has on individual interlocutors. For example, some monolingual pupils withdraw from play activity when the language shifts to Panjabi. The actual language use is however one dimension. There are other non-linguistic features which are equally influential. These include the perceived status of individual speakers. For example, the presence of an adult authority figure can also be seen to influence PLU.

The three features suggested as components of ecolinguistics: Relativism, Co-existence and Interdependence of speakers concur with more established descriptions of language as a dynamic process, which not only facilitates but which actually creates social situations (eg Halliday, 1978). To encapsulate this phenomenon of ecolinguistics as characterised by the three features outlined above, I shall use the term *linguistic eco-system*. The use of this term will not include a linkage of individual speakers or language use to the existence of state or nation. The absence of the link to higher social orders distinguishes this description from existing ones (eg Barth, 1969; Haarmann, 1988).

The notion of autobiography gains support from other quarters. Donaldson (1992:274) reminds us that Bruner (1990) believes that individuals construct:

more or less coherent autobiographies centred around a Self
acting more or less purposefully in a social world.

Donaldson (1992:274)

Bruner (1990) reinforces the notion that experiences from different spheres of personal experience combine when he suggests that families (and indeed whole cultures) invent traditions in essentially similar ways, based on what he terms 'the push for connectivity'.

Chapter 8 described the emergence of two types of social networks among the bilingual children in Box Hill Nursery, pupil networks and friendship networks. The diagrammatic representation proposed to demonstrate these network ties can be combined with other environment influences described in Bronfenbrenner's (1977 & 1979) micro, meso, exo systems. The influences exerted on individuals' ecolinguistic biography can be presented diagrammatically. Figure 11.1 illustrates the Ecological Framework of social and linguistic development nested within a hierarchy of external influences which impact upon individuals' linguistic and social behaviour.

11.6 Linking Bronfenbrenner's EST to Other Theoretical Frameworks

In Figure 11.1 the *Macro-system* represents the highest and most official order of social organisation. It includes legislation, for example, the 1976 Race Relations Act, 1975 Sex Discrimination Act and the 1988 Education Reform Act. It also represents the institutional patterns, school organisation, socio, political, economic strata that in the UK determines a stratified linguistic hierarchy with English the official, dominant language.

The *Exo-system* represents formal and informal social roles, like being a pupil, being a friend. This level is deliberately structured and yet dynamic. The participants' orientation towards the relevant institutions (in this case towards the school or formal education), corresponds to what systemic linguists term, the field.

The *Meso-system* represents the settings or domains of interactions. These include the home, the classroom, the playground and other specific settings that demand particular codes of language use. Being able to behave appropriately in these contexts corresponds to being communicatively competent in Hymes' (1972b) term.

The *Micro-system* represents roles that participants play within the social networks they form. Children within their social networks assume the role of friend; within the pupil network, the role of pupil. Each role requires different types of language use and appropriate accompanying behaviour. Both language use and social behaviour are context bound and culturally determined. Becoming a pupil in Britain requires children to learn to behave like a pupil and to speak English in the classroom. This requirement may be at odds with the natural behaviour of very young children. However, it has been demonstrated that they very quickly learn the rules of appropriate behaviour. They speak English and behave like pupils. Roles within the social networks and the relationships between individual participants, correspond to what systemic linguists term, the tenor.

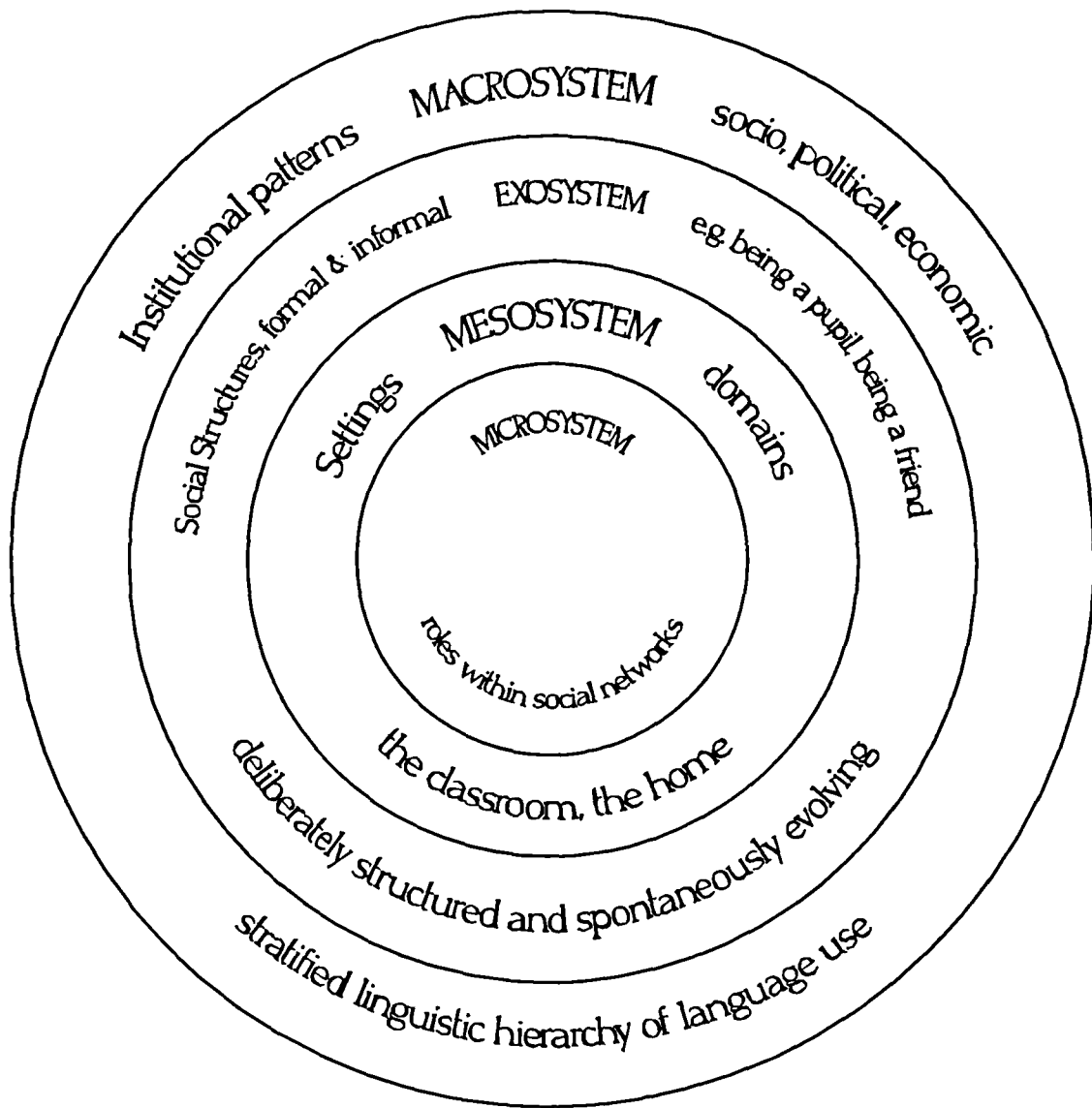


Figure 11.1 Ecological Framework of Social and Linguistic Development
Nested within a hierarchy of external influences

Finally, the choice of language between individual interlocutors is what systemic linguists term the mode. It includes register choices, for example, styles of talking including formal, casual, vernacular and in the case of bilingual interlocutors, their choice of which language to use. This inevitably includes the possibility of code-switching, using both language systems in juxtaposition.

11.7 Discussion

The data presented in Chapters 9 and 10 demonstrate one facet of the ecolinguistic biographies of the children in the Box Hill Nursery Project, the school dimension. However, it has been demonstrated that even in this context there is significant evidence of language shift in individual repertoires. This demonstrated shift in individuals' preferred language use away from Mirpuri-Panjabi towards English, the dominant language, demonstrates the impact that formal language planning policy at national level exerts on some individual speakers in public domains. This shift is noted in the trend demonstrated by the preferred language use of the informants in the Box Hill Nursery Project. Towards the end of the first term in formal education, none of the bilingual children are observed speaking only Mirpuri-Panjabi even within the dense network of preferred interlocutors. The trend from the data is a shift in preferred language use or language choice and a decline in the number of utterances (or turns) recorded in the home and community language, Mirpuri-Panjabi, even when there is not an increase in the utterances in English.

The central tenet of a linguistic ecosystem is the effect experienced across a range of domains, interlocutors, and social contexts that even small changes precipitate. It is therefore possible to speculate that the shift in language use towards the dominant societal language, English, as experienced in the school context, will have repercussions across individuals' linguistic repertoire and will influence the use of language in other domains and other settings with other participants. If raised to a

hypothesis, this speculation can only be verified by a longitudinal study to follow up the language use of these children as they progress through school. A follow-up study could include observations of these informants and their preferred language use in other social settings, for example, in the family, the local community and other non-educational contexts.

The English language is central to learning and academic success in British schools and since 1988 it has been decisively defined as the only official language of primary school education. Evidence from other multilingual societies (Fishman et al, 1971 and Kroon & Vallen, 1994) suggests that legislation and formal language planning at national level can have dramatic impact on the languages that are **not** recognised within the national plans. The result is often a change in the domains and hence opportunities to use the non-recognised languages. While there is little disagreement over the occurrence of language shift (LS), opinion varies on whether it is a negative (eg Fishman, 1991) or merely inevitable linguistic trend (Romaine, 1989).

11.8 Summary

This chapter concludes the report on the Box Hill Nursery Project with a proposal for a social and linguistic framework for describing an individual's linguistic repertoire as an ecolinguistic biography. Three features of ecolinguistic biography have been identified: the Relativism, Co-existence and Interdependence of speakers. It is suggested that an individual's language use in one domain (for example, in the nursery school) will impact upon that individual's linguistic repertoire and has the potential to influence their preferred language use in other domains. In one sense it is clear that the informal social life of the individual is entirely outside the grasp of language planning efforts. However, to say that there is no impact of language planning on language use in informal situations belies the societal influences of language policy on languages perceived as low status within the stratified linguistic

hierarchy of present day British society. Social activity has linguistic consequences. To end with the words of Malinowski (1935/66:311) 'linguistic material is ... dependent upon the course of activity'.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

We are what we learn. It often takes a long and painful time. Unfortunately, there was no doubt either, that a lot of time, a lot of pain went into learning very little.

Doris Lessing
The Summer Before The Dark 1973:10

CHAPTER 12 - CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

12.0 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to summarise the findings from the five levels of data analysis and to present suggestions for future research and development.

12.1 Summary of Main Findings

1. Findings suggest that there is a social dimension to time on task phenomenon. It has been demonstrated that both teachers and peers play an instrumental role in supporting early years' learning. Children spend sustained periods of time on selected learning tasks when there are individuals present with whom they want to spend their time. These selected individuals, both adults and other pupils, act as attraction factors and provide a social dimension to learning activities.
2. Classroom organisations plays an important role in facilitating social contact. To maximise this social element teachers should provide opportunities for self-selected pupil groups in their every day organisation of classrooms and they should also continue to play an overt, instrumental role in selecting specific individuals to work together. Classrooms should therefore combine teacher-selected grouping with self-selected pupil groups.
3. Four types of behaviours have been observed: Functional, Related, Sustained and Transient. They can be represented by the acronym FiRST. These suggest that even activities of short duration can be purposeful and lead to useful learning outcomes. It is suggested that the physical structure of the nursery, where children are expected to be actively involved in the organisation, tidying and safe-keeping of equipment and apparatus can provide opportunities for learning that can be equal in demand to structured learning tasks.

4. The third level of analysis suggests the emergence of two types of social networks within the nursery setting: loose pupil networks and dense friendship networks. The former are characterised by the presence of the teachers who can be seen to play an influential role in the composition of the clusters, the activities and behaviour of individuals that takes place within the groupings. As the term progresses, key individuals emerge from the pupil network to form dense friendship networks. The friendship networks are characterised by the dominance of same ethnic group peers. The membership of these emerging pupil and friendship networks is seen to have significant influence in accounting for the time an individual child spends engaged in a particular learning activity.
5. The membership of emerging pupil and friendship networks can be seen as significant in accounting for bilingual children's social and linguistic behaviour in the nursery setting. Further, the establishment and consolidation of social networks is also an important influence on bilingual children's enculturation into mainstream education. Social network analysis offers insights which illuminate this process.
6. Children as young as three years demonstrate an awareness of different ethnic groups. They are able to distinguish those who belong to their own ethnic group and those who do not.
7. All eight of the children speak some English, even on their very first hour in the nursery. A number of factors have been identified as influencing individual's choice of language for utterances, including the presence of monolinguals, (pupils, teachers and other adults) and same-ethnic group peers.

8. There is a change in the children's linguistic repertoire during their first term in school. These changes include:
 - (i) an increase in the number of utterances recorded in English over the term.
 - (ii) the combined use of English and Mirpuri-Panjabi in some utterances.
 - (iii) four types of code-switches have been identified: lexical, inter-sentential, intra-sentential and switches that correspond with discourse turns.
9. Three generic patterns of the discourse options have been outlined. It has been demonstrated that the language of the first utterance, the *frame language*, influences the discourse options available to second (and subsequent) speakers. Bilinguals have a wider range of discourse options reflecting their more varied linguistic repertoire. Two generic patterns of adjacency pairs for bilingual discourse have been described and one for monolingual discourse. It is suggested that bilinguals have a total of five discourse options available for interactions, while monolinguals have a reduced number of three. Silence and non-verbal responses are always valid options for speakers.
10. Code-switching is used as a device for establishing and consolidating group membership of the dense network of preferred participants.
11. Patterns of preferred language use vary according to interlocutors, settings and activities.
12. A number of influences on the individual informant's language choice or preferred language use have been identified. It has been suggested that the choice of a particular language for a given interaction is a matter of individual choice. In making these choices between one of the languages (English or Mirpuri-Panjabi) in their repertoire, or a combination of the two (code-switching),

bilingual children are demonstrating a developing communicative competence and an emerging metalinguistic awareness of the rules that govern appropriate language use in social contexts.

13. These young children demonstrate a highly sophisticated knowledge of two linguistic systems and that they are rapidly learning the social rules of appropriate language use.
14. The report on the Box Hill Nursery Project is concluded with a proposal for a social and linguistic framework for describing an individual's linguistic repertoire as an ecolinguistic biography. Three distinguishing features of ecolinguistic biography have been identified: the Relativism, Co-existence and Interdependence of speakers. It is suggested that an individual's language use in one domain (for example, in the nursery school) will impact upon that individual's linguistic repertoire and has the potential to influence their preferred language use in other domains. In one sense it is clear that the informal social life of the individual lies entirely outside language planning efforts. However, to say that there is no impact on language use in informal situations belies the societal influences of language policy on languages perceived as low status within the stratified linguistic hierarchy of present day British society.
15. The data analysis has reinforced the view of the interdependence of the social and language behaviours of young bilingual children. It goes some way to support Malinowski's view of language as social action with reference to a particular group of young bilingual children who are learning a number of participant roles simultaneously. They are learning to be pupils, they are learning to be bilingual, and they are learning to be members of a minority ethnic community now permanently settled in Britain. Language plays a central role in all of these activities. They differ from monolingual pupils with whom

they share the role of apprentice pupil, in that they require different languages for their social roles. They need to use both English the dominant societal language and their home and community language, Mirpuri-Panjabi. This is important for a number of social and personal reasons.

16. A suggested framework for future ethnolinguistic descriptive analyses has been outlined. Personal network ties are presented within the nested hierarchy that identifies the social and linguistic structures that influence an individual's social and language behaviour. This is presented as an ecological framework of social and linguistic development.

12.2 Suggestions for Further Work

These findings combine to suggest a number of possibilities for future research and teacher education.

- A. The social setting described here is only one facet of the children's language learning experience. More needs to be known about other aspects of their language use. A further study focusing on other domains of language use, for example, within the family, or friendship groups in a non-educational setting, would provide further insights.
- B. Pre-school education is now firmly on the political agenda for future educational policy. However, too little is known about the long term effects of nursery education. Little is known about the relative merits of different patterns of provision. The children in this study are learning to be bilingual. Their needs and linguistic development may be atypical and different from their monolingual peers. Comparative studies need to be undertaken with monolingual pupils in similar settings and with bilingual pupils in different nursery settings.

- C. Teacher education is on the point of radical review. DfE Circular 14/94 outlines proposals for changes in the pattern and length of initial teacher education courses. In 1994 one year Specialist Teacher Assistants (STA) courses were introduced. These provide a twelve month post-GCSE training course in preparation for work in Key Stage 1 (KS1) classrooms. Both of these initiatives would suggest that the period of initial training for teachers in KS1 will differ from the present four year course leading to an honours degree. The findings presented here suggest that teachers need to understand more about the language development of their pupils and patterns of classroom interaction. Reducing the period of initial teacher training will have implications for the content of teacher education courses.
- D. It is suggested that nursery education is important for monolingual children because it has been identified by Tizard et al (1988) as influencing later academic achievement and success at school. If this is the case for monolingual children, it is suggested that nursery education may be equally as influential in the lives of young bilingual pupils. Further studies need to determine how and why it is of benefit.
- E. It has been suggested that explicit statements of support for bilingual pupils (DES, 1975 & DES, 1985) have been resisted. Due to the lack of a clearly stated national policy for the education of bilingual pupils there has emerged a practice of unofficial immersion programmes of English teaching. The current education provision for bilingual pupils has been conceived by British educationalists without wide reference to, or liaison with bilingual community groups. It is suggested that a national survey needs to be conducted to establish the personal and educational aspirations of the bilingual communities and that this information is used as the basis for a planned education policy.

- F. Despite the increasing numbers of pupils in schools who can speak languages other than English, to date, no systematic national program of language teaching exists within the primary school curriculum. Foreign language teaching begins after the age of eleven years when it is already too late for learners to achieve high standards of communication and fluency. It is time to reconsider the foreign languages curriculum and to seriously consider the possibility of introducing foreign language teaching into the primary school. This should also include a reconsideration of the dominant position of French and German in the school curriculum. Future provision in the primary phase should broaden the range of languages offered.
- G. The findings from international research (for example, Australia, New Zealand and the USA) are not widely known to UK teachers. Since 1988 and the changes in funding for teachers' in-service courses, further professional development opportunities have been seriously curtailed. Qualified teachers lack funded opportunities for further professional development and up-grading of basic qualifications. A more co-ordinated national approach needs to be adopted for the in-service education of teachers and other professionals working with young children, to allow for regular up-grading of professional qualifications and dissemination of relevant research findings and teaching methods.
- H. It is acknowledged that current funding arrangements for educational research has set a trend away from fundamental research into aspects of learning, and focused instead on aspects of teaching and education policy. The final suggestion is for more research into aspects of learning and the role of external agencies (teachers, other children etc) in supporting these processes. There is a need to make connections and build bridges between learning and teaching so that we may come to understand better, things we already know.

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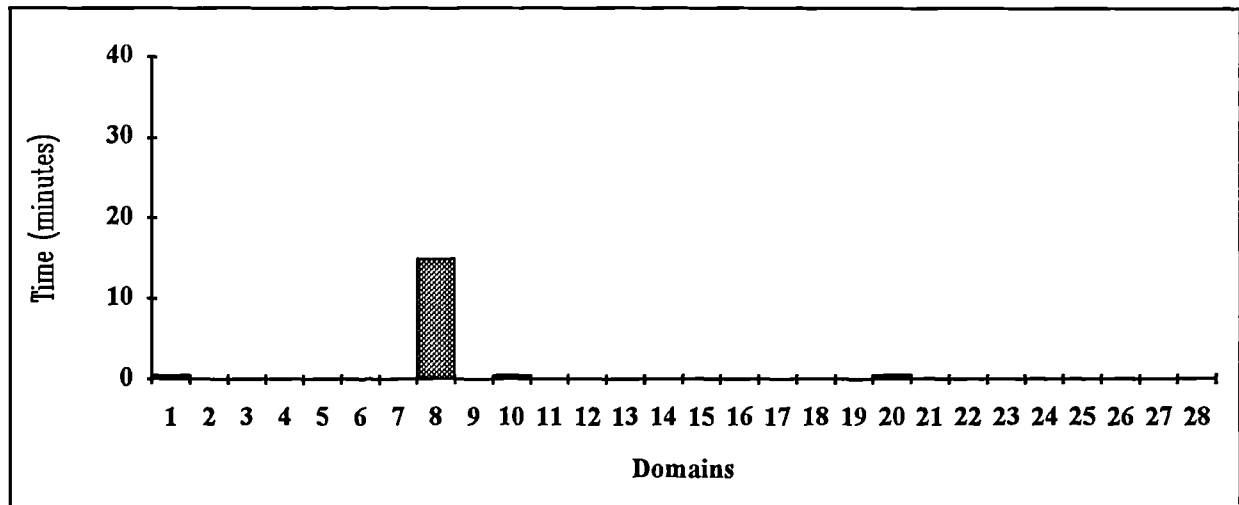
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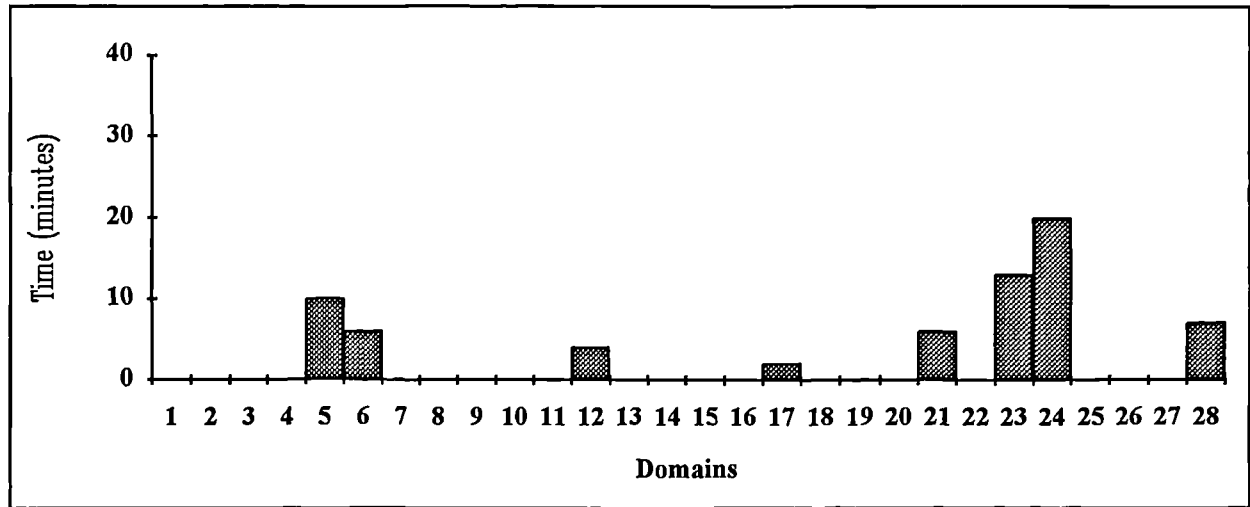
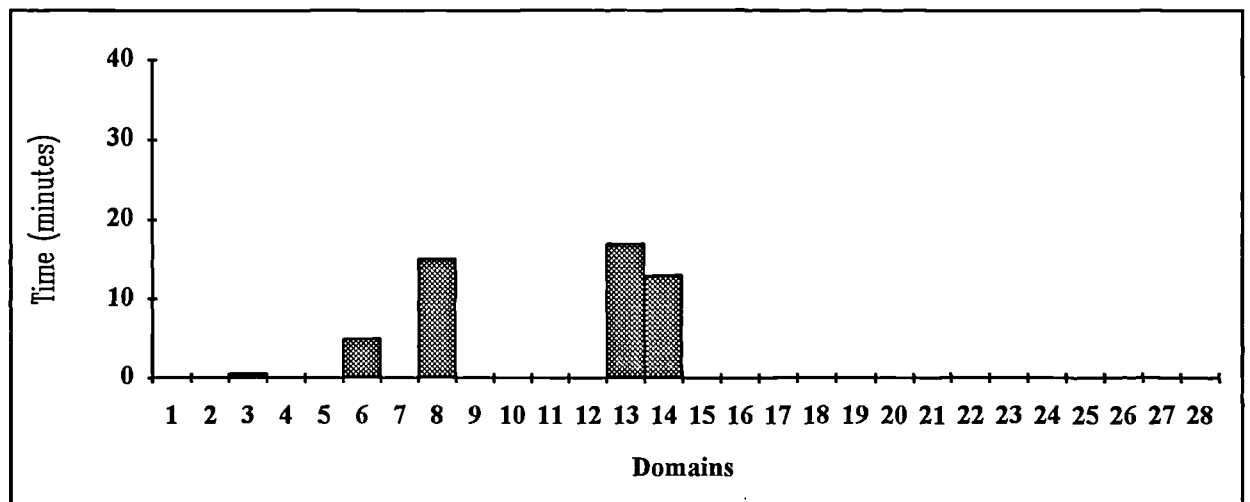
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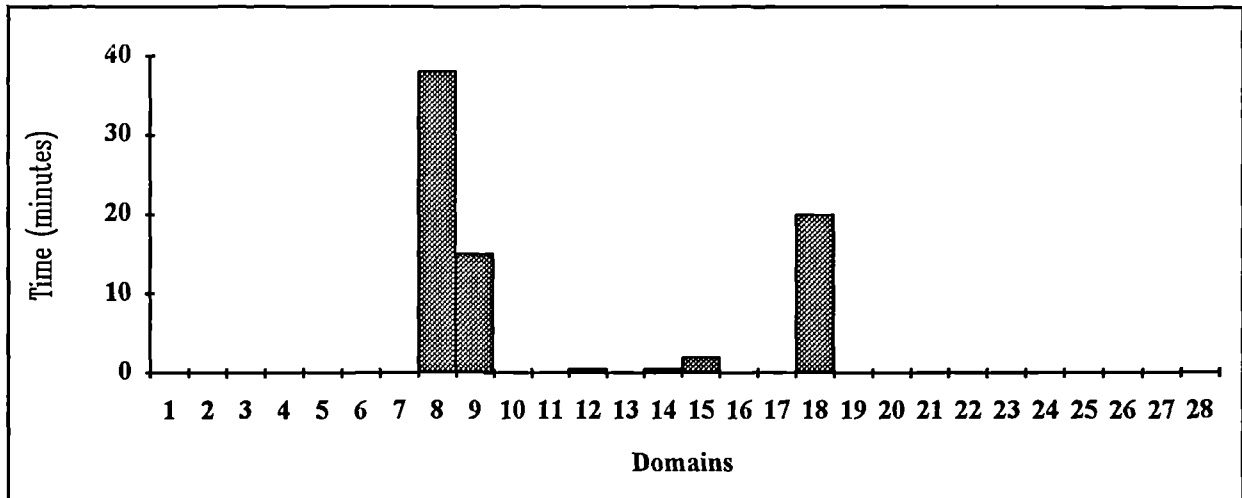
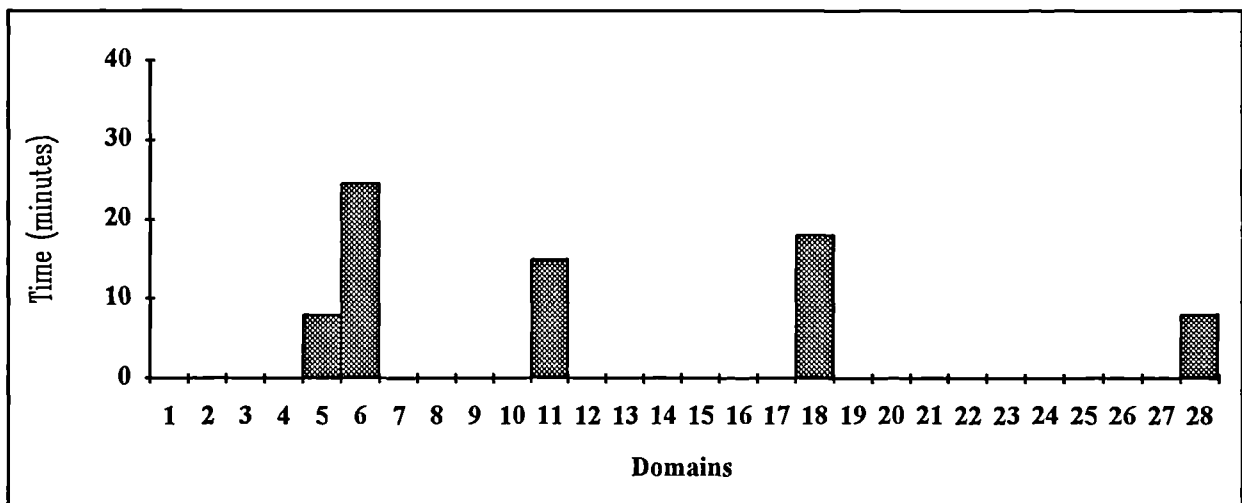
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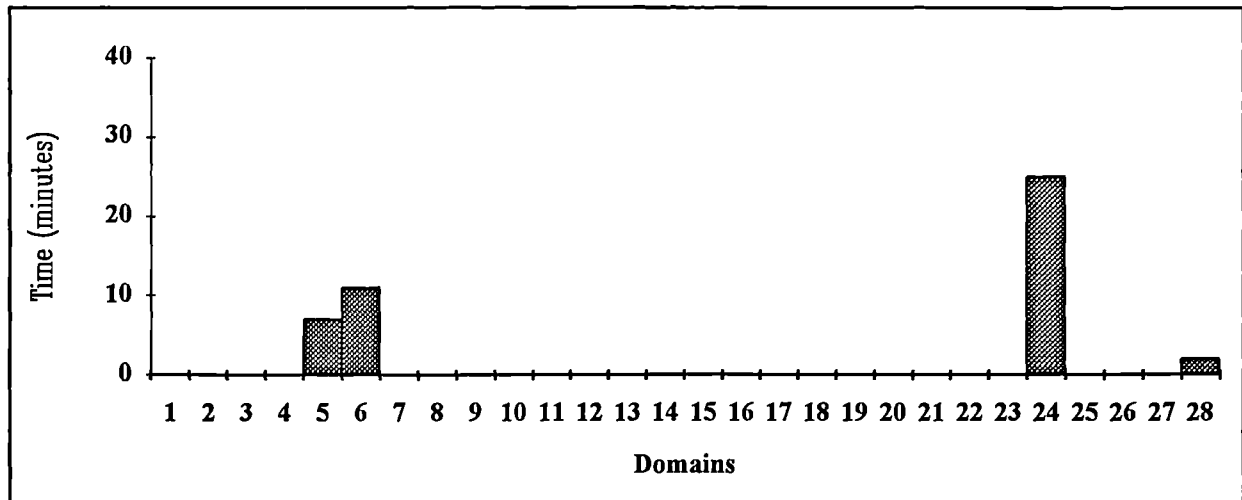
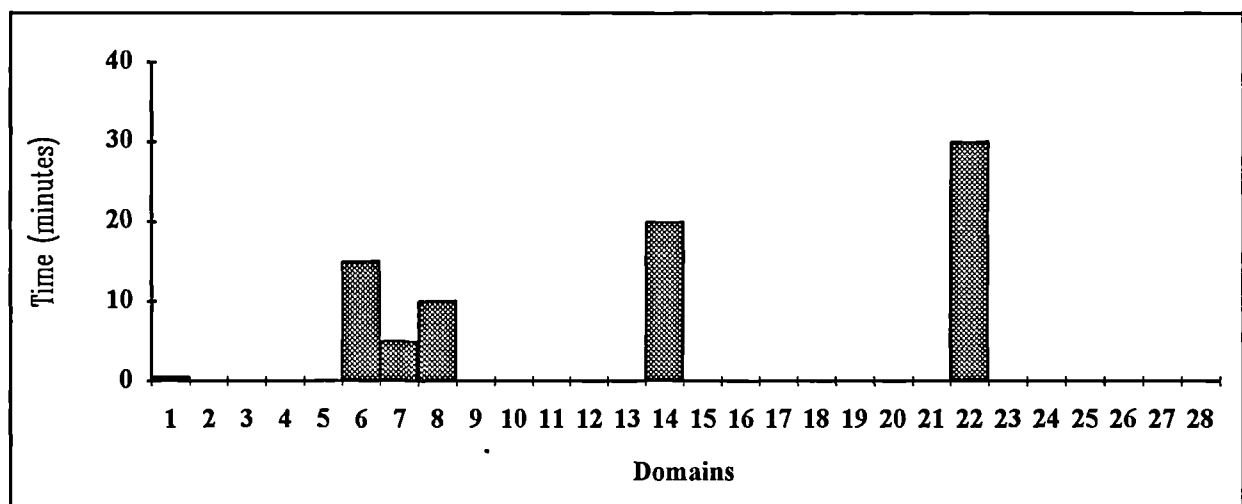
APPENDIX A

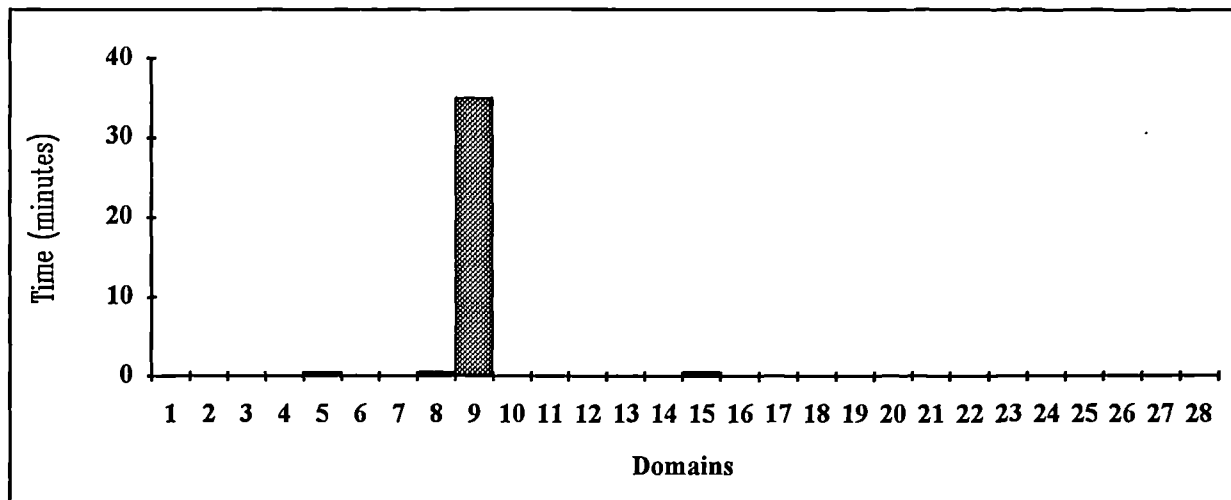
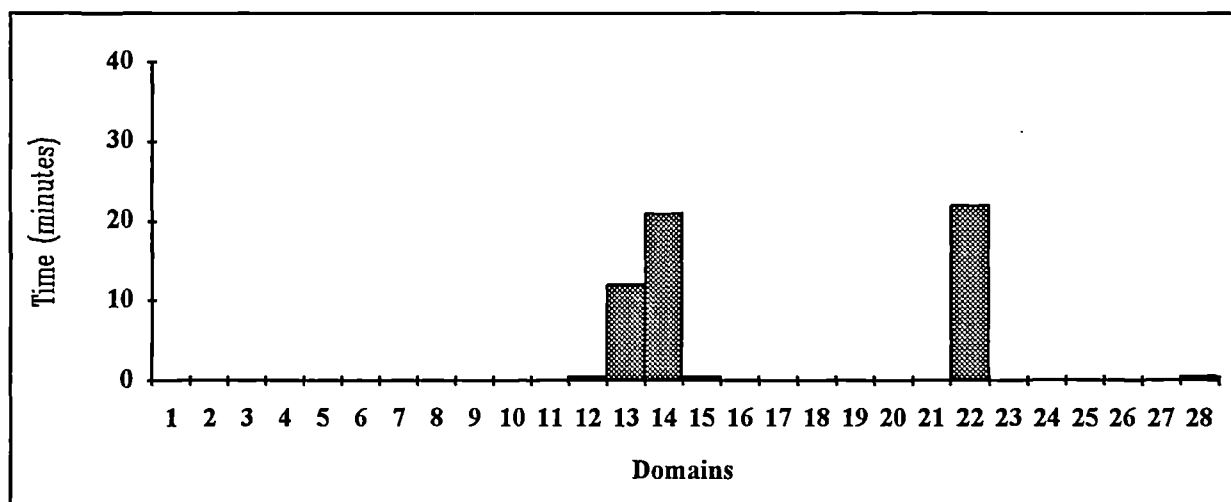
GRAPHS OF TIME ON TASK ANALYSIS

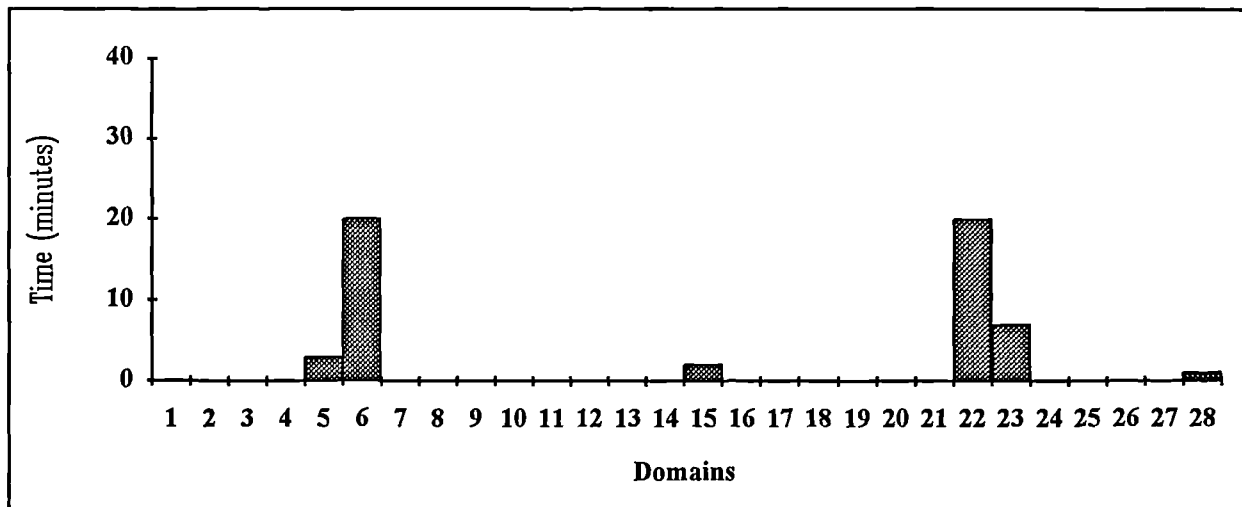
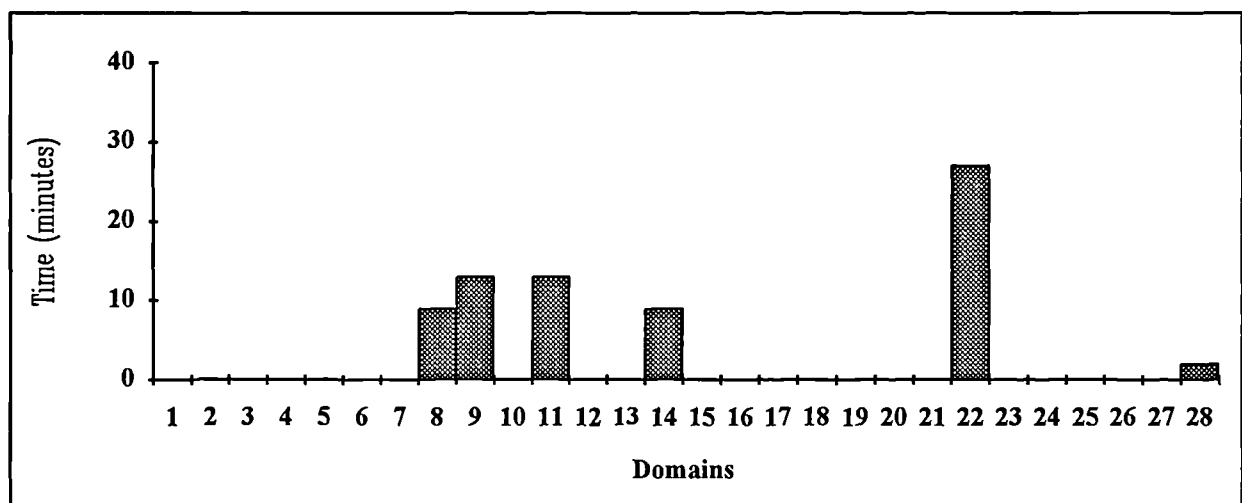


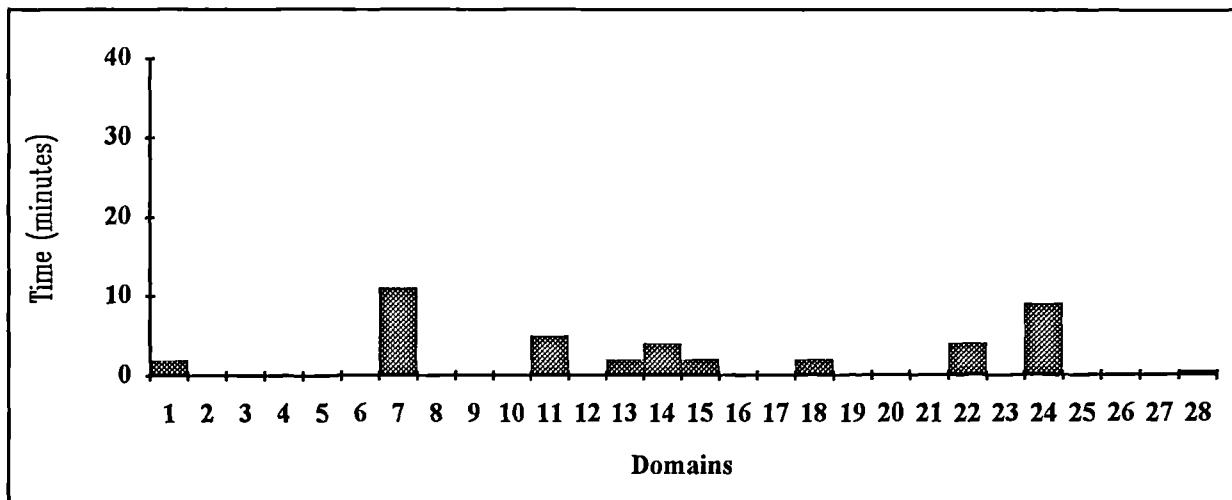
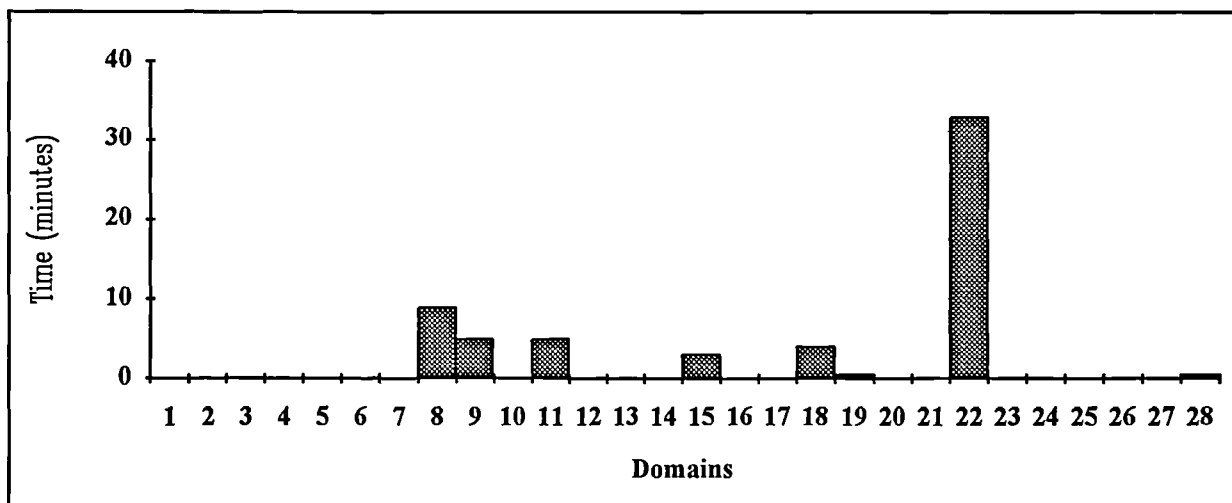
GRAPH 2**IMRAN****DAY 1****GRAPH 3****IMRAN****DAY 2**

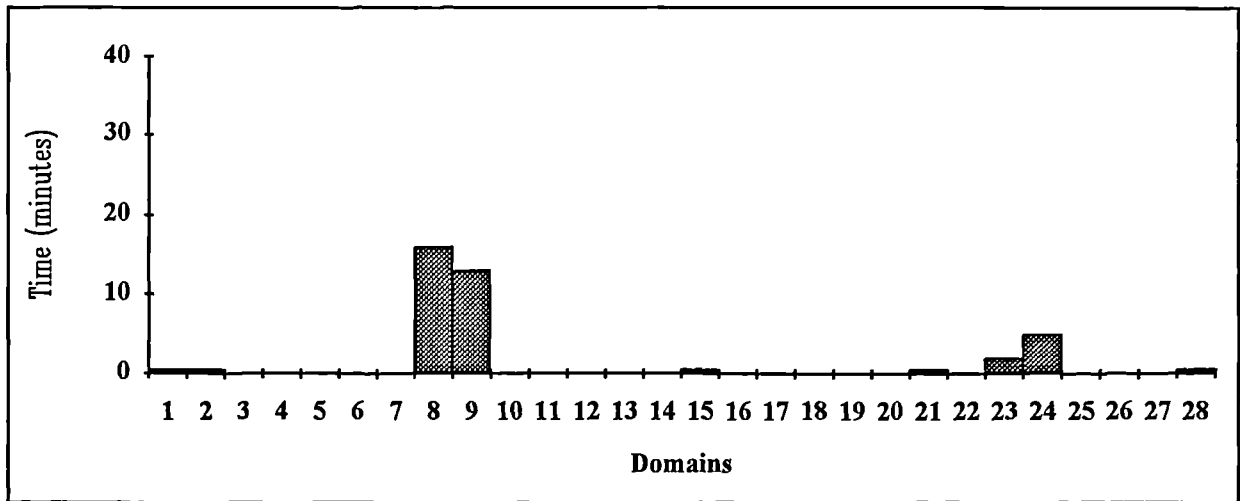
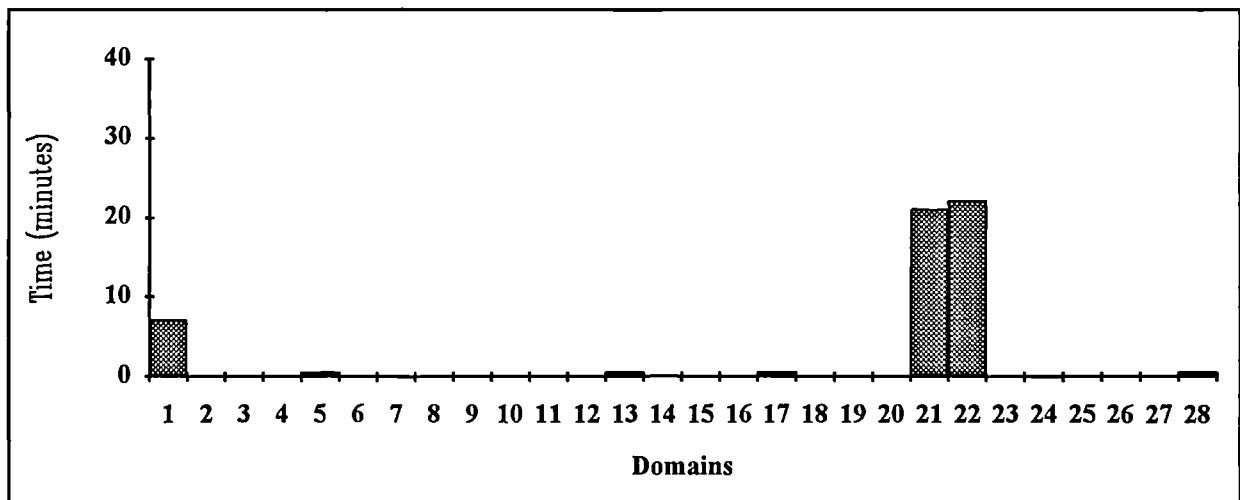
GRAPH 4**ISHTIAQ****DAY 1****GRAPH 5****ISHTIAQ****DAY 2**

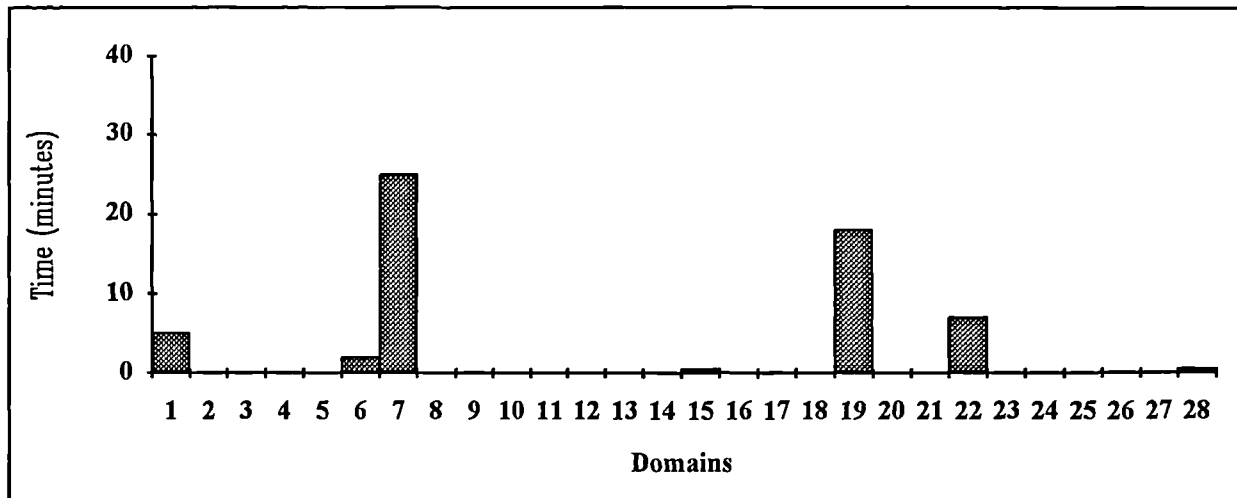
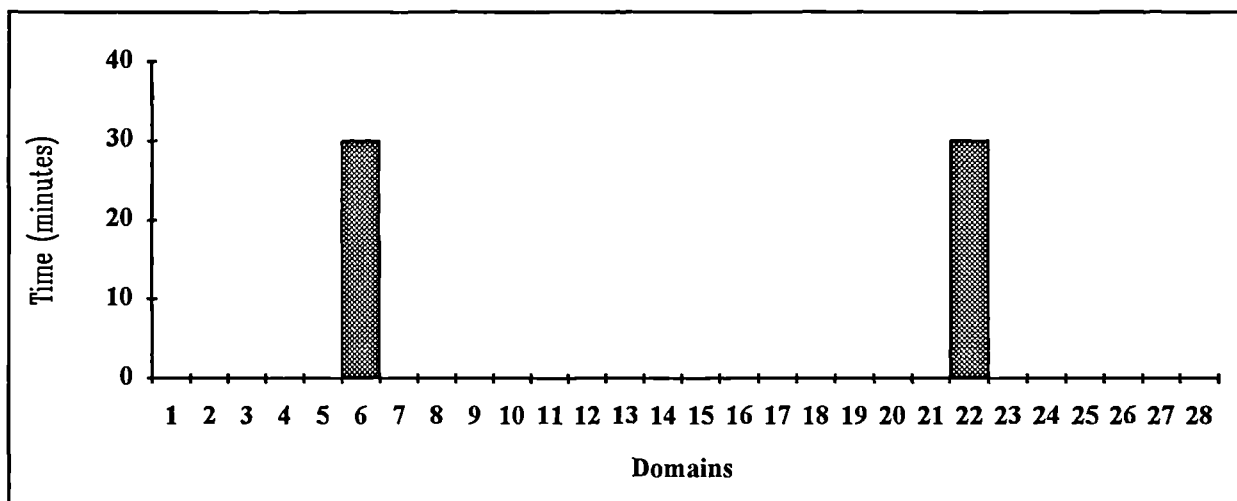
GRAPH 6**KAMRAN****DAY 1****GRAPH 7****KAMRAN****DAY 2**

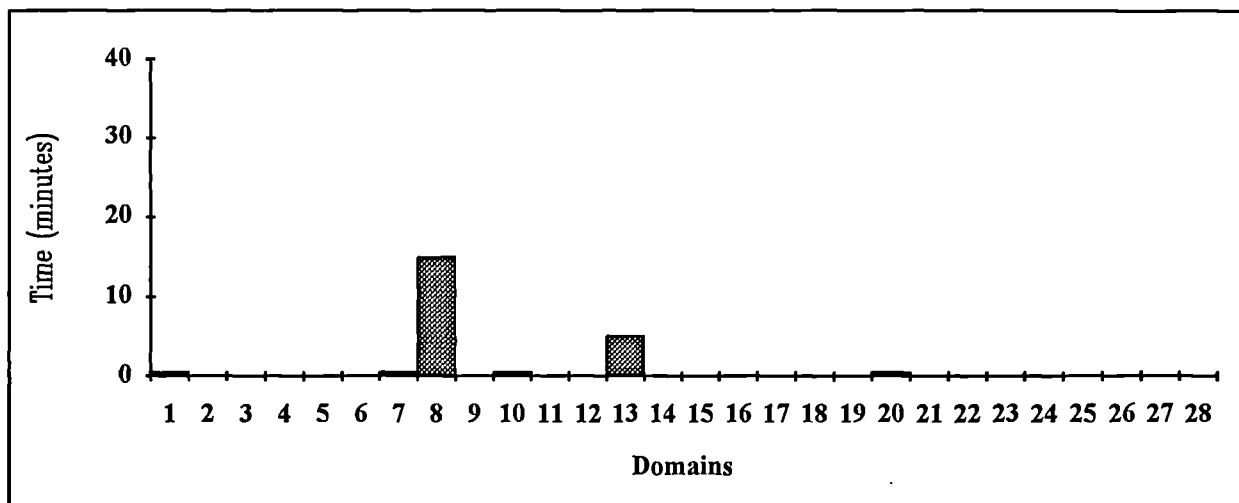
GRAPH 8**RABILA****DAY 1****GRAPH 9****RABILA****DAY 2**

GRAPH 10**SABIA****DAY 1****GRAPH 11****SABIA****DAY 2**

GRAPH 12**SHAMAILA****DAY 1****GRAPH 13****SHAMAILA****DAY 2**

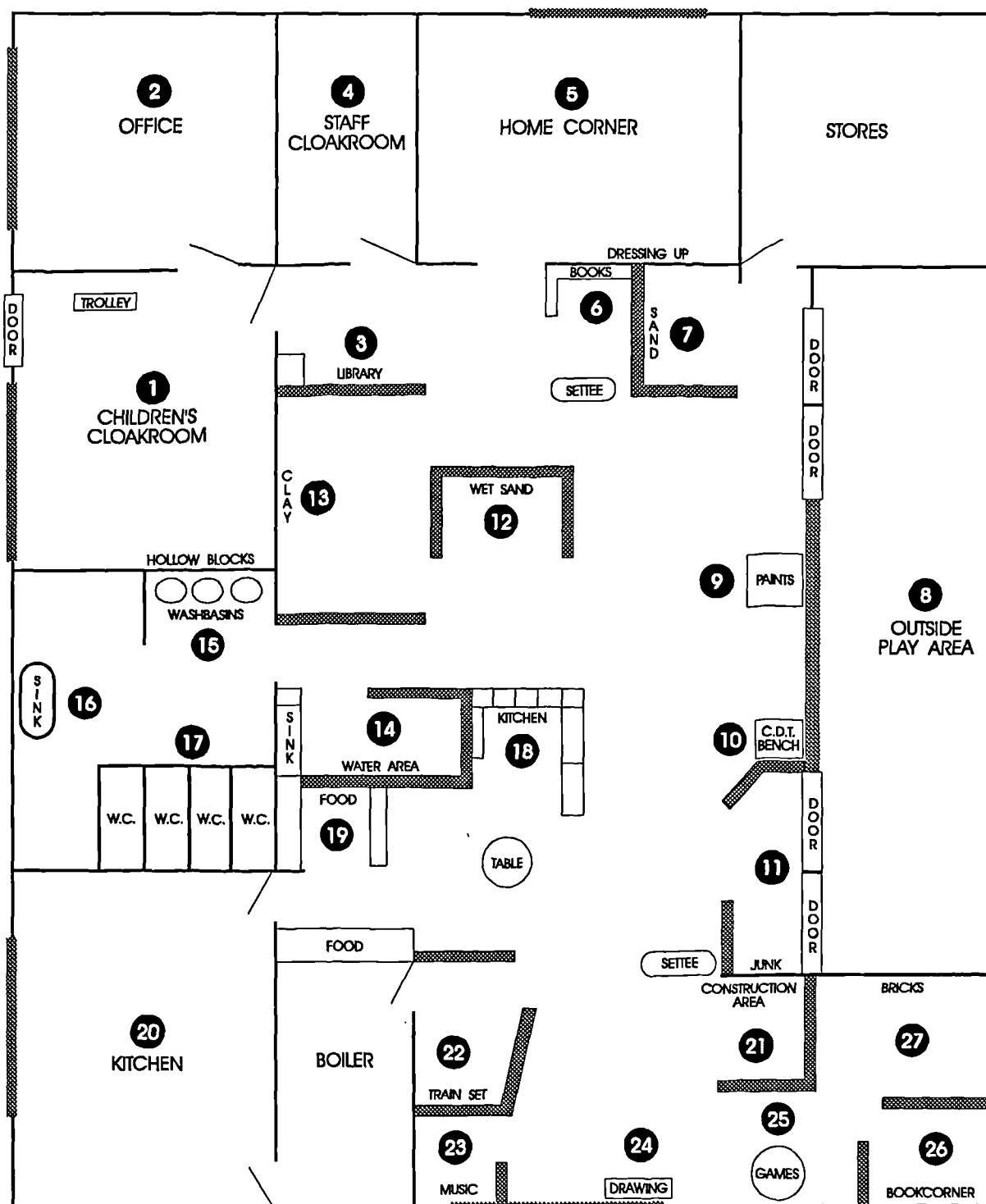
GRAPH 14**SHAZAD****DAY 1****GRAPH 15****SHAZAD****DAY 2**

GRAPH 16**SOFEES****DAY 1****GRAPH 17****SOFEES****DAY 2**



APPENDIX B

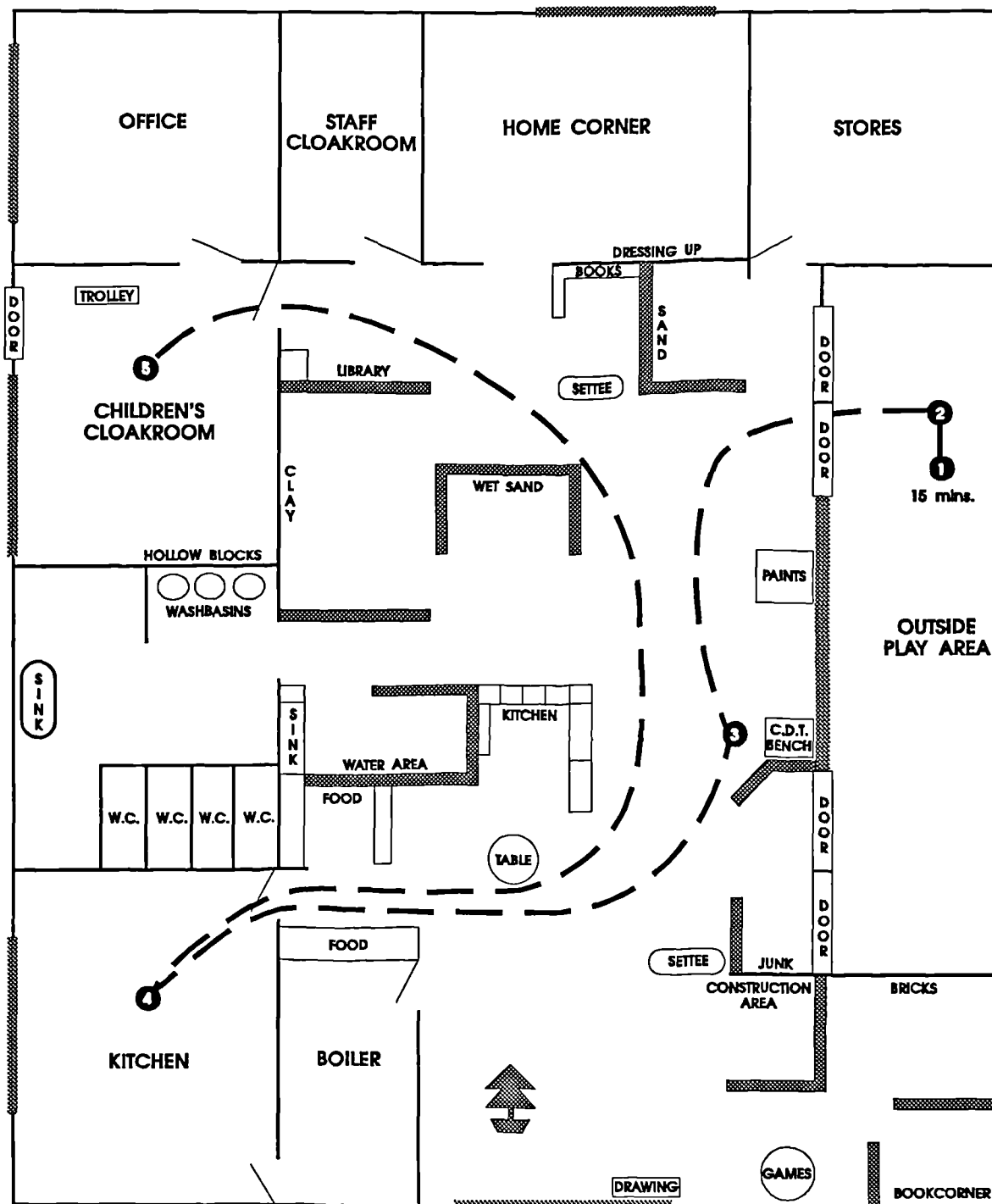
**MAPS OF INFORMANTS' USE OF SPACE
WITHIN THE NURSERY**

MAP 1
THE NURSERY SETTING


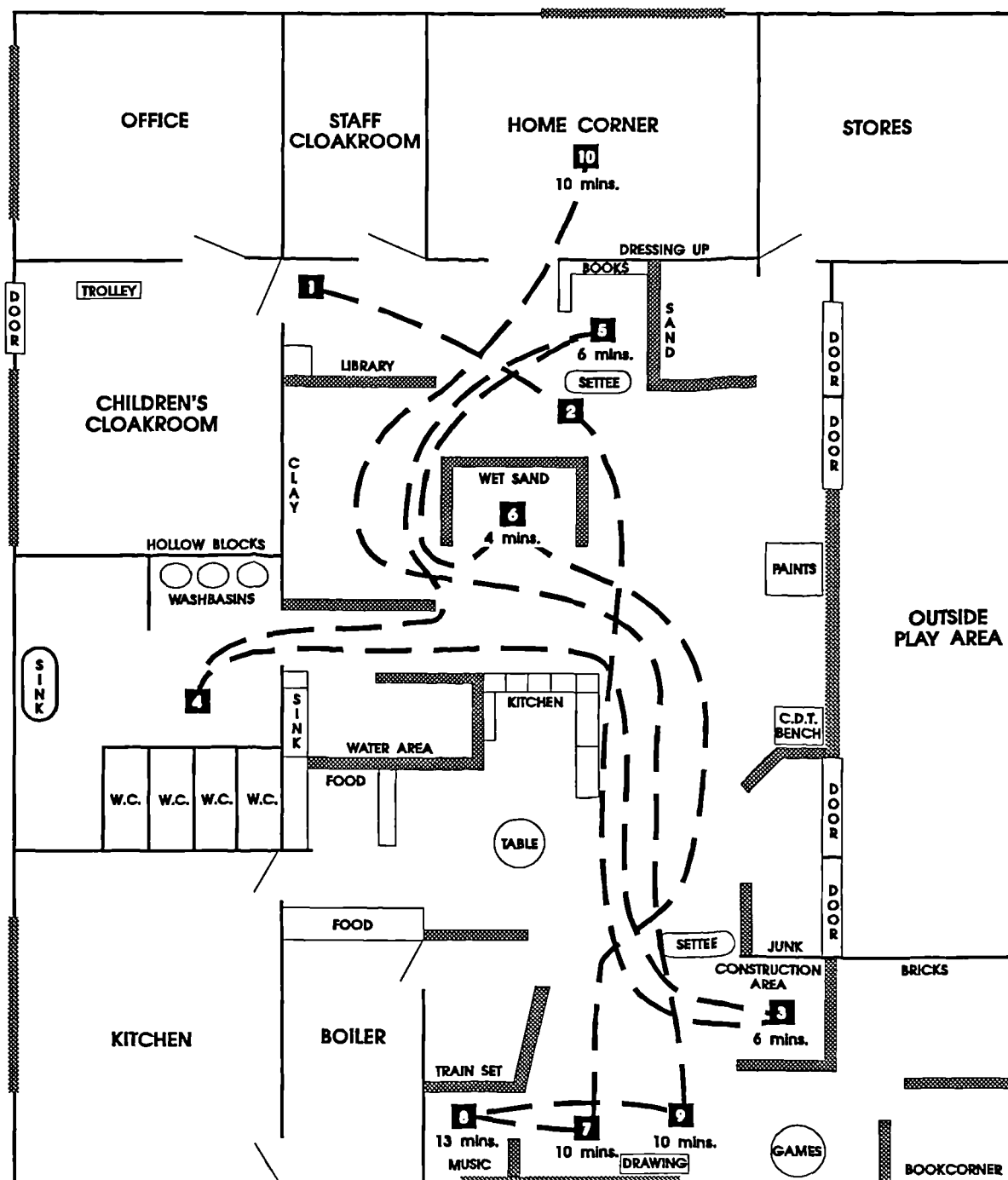
Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Domain 11	Junk Table	Domain 21	Construction Area
Domain 2	Office	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Domain 22	Train Set ⁺
Domain 3	Library	Domain 13	Clay	Domain 23	Music ⁺
Domain 4	Staff Cloakroom	Domain 14	Water Area	Domain 24	Drawing Table
Domain 5	Home Corner	Domain 15	Washbasins	Domain 25	Games
Domain 6	Books	Domain 16	Sink	Domain 26	Book Corner
Domain 7	Dry Sand	Domain 17	WCs	Domain 27	Building Bricks
Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Domain 18	Kitchen	Domain 28	Corridor Areas
Domain 9	Paints	Domain 19	Food		
Domain 10	CDT* Bench	Domain 20	Staff Kitchen		

* Craft, Design & Technology

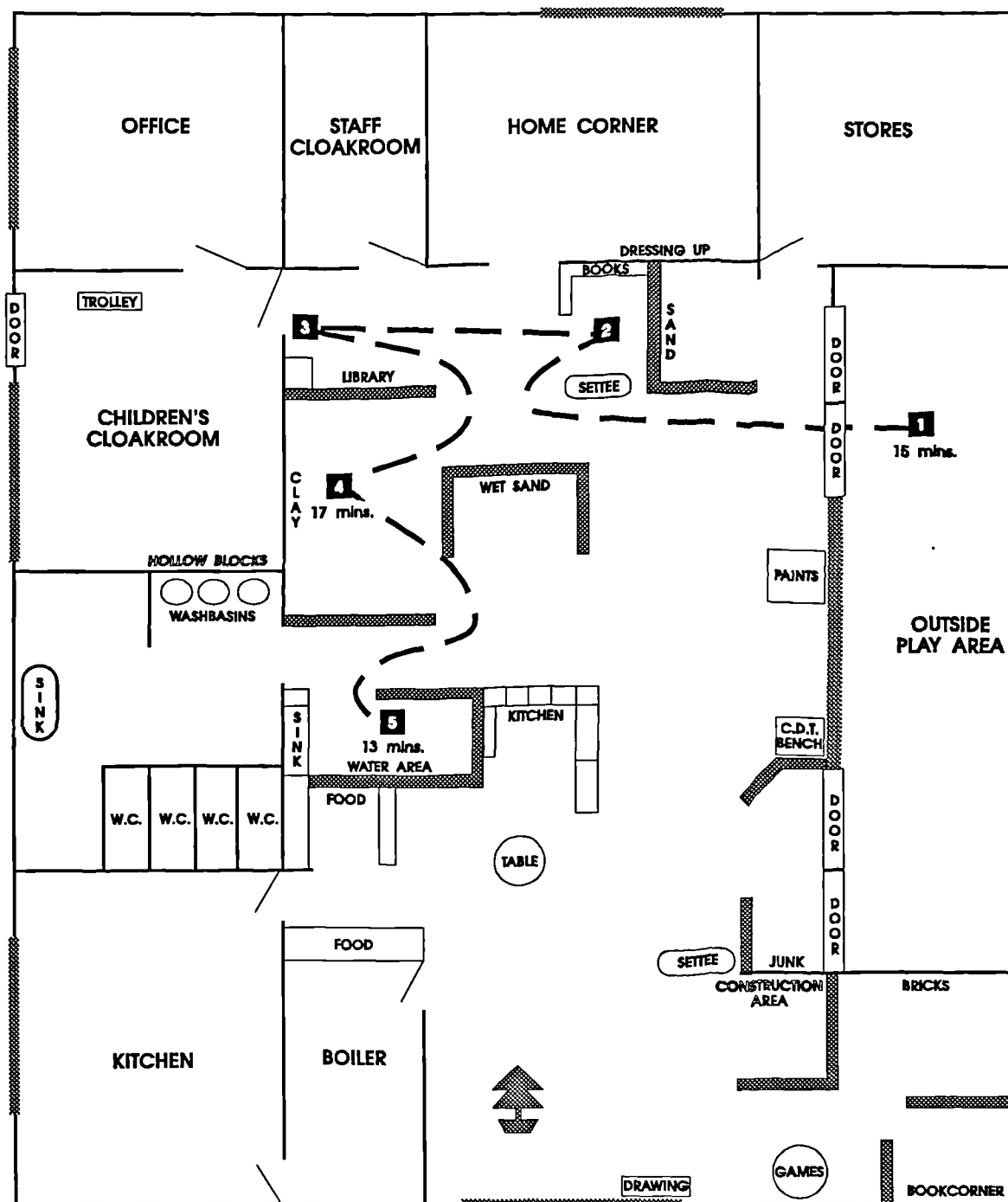
⁺ After 24th November Domains 22 and 23 merge - Christmas Tree



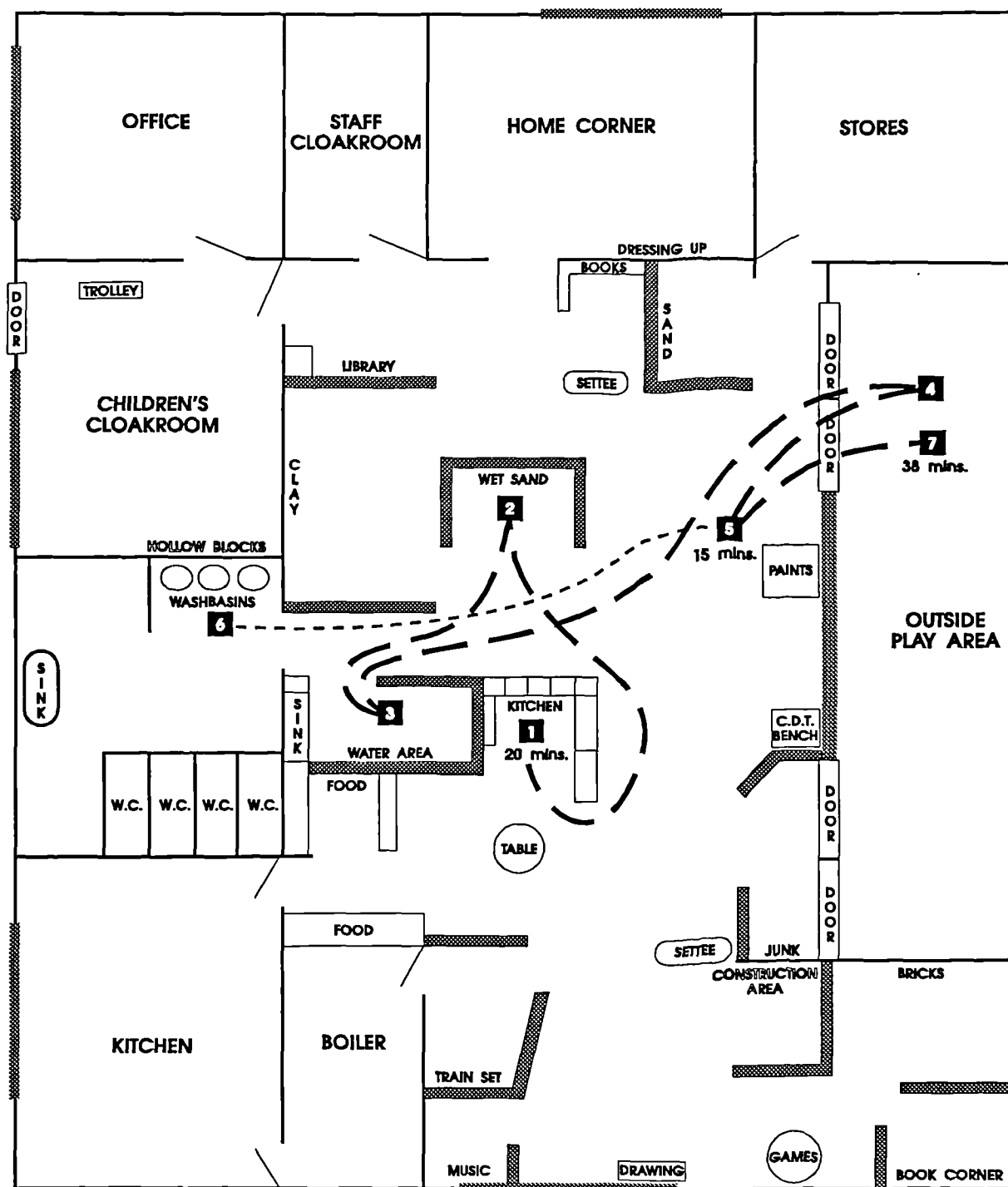
Activity 1	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 10	CDT Bench	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 20	Staff Kitchen	Related Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Functional Behaviour



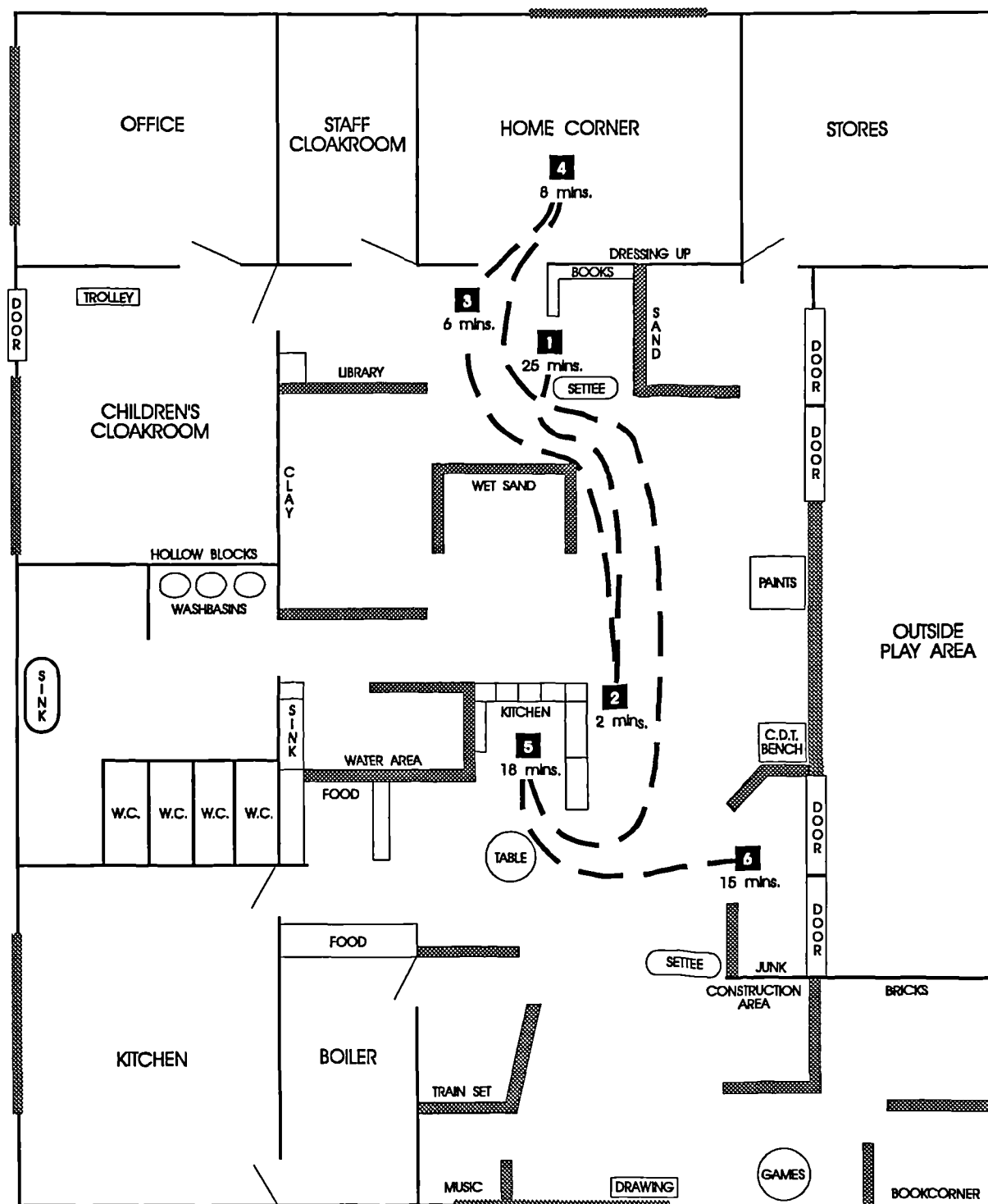
Activity 1	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 21	Construction Area	Sustained Behaviour for 6 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 17	WCs	Functional Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 6 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 23	Music	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes
Activity 9	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes
Activity 10	Domain 5	Home Corner	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes



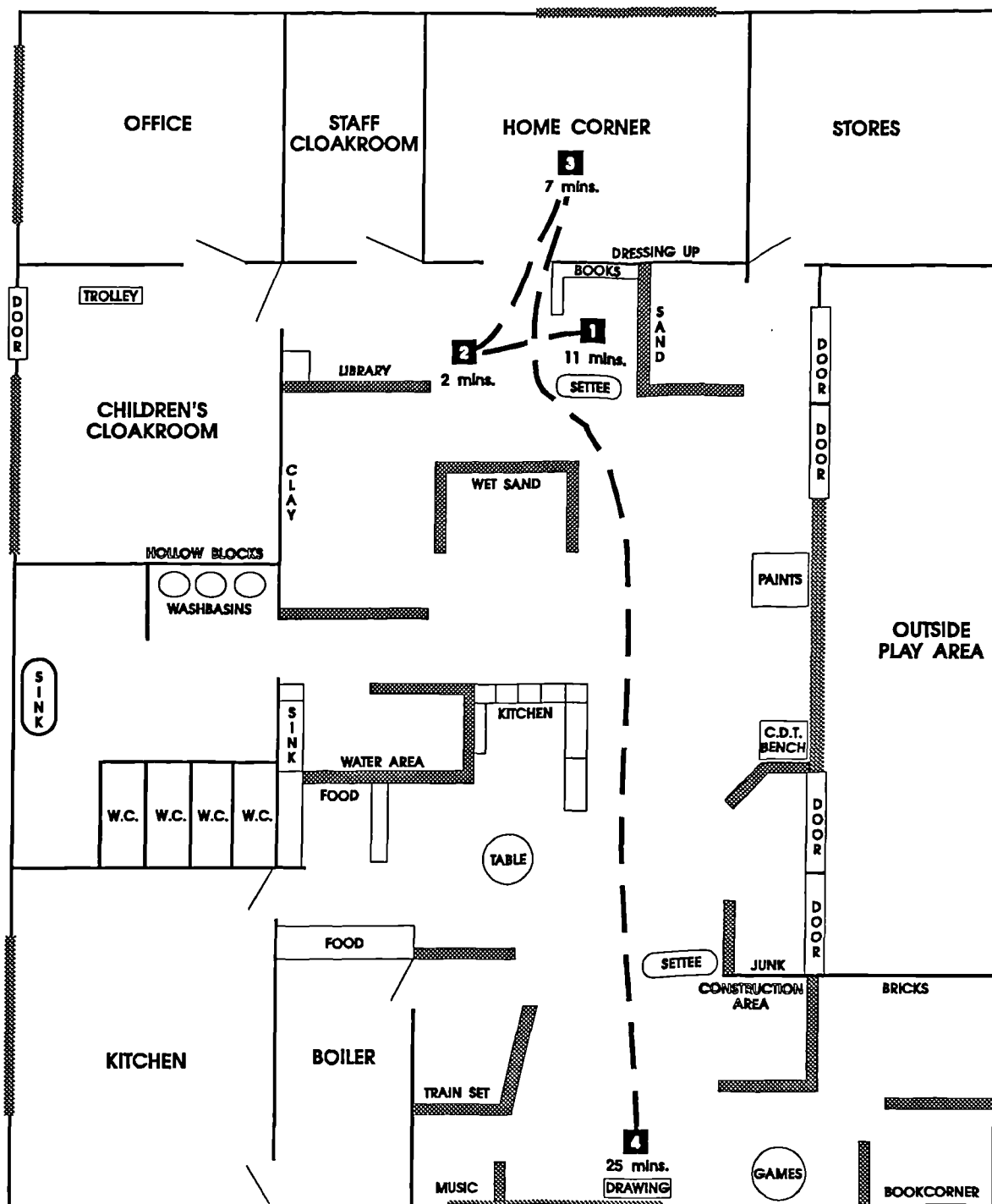
Activity 1	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 6	Books	Related Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 3	Library	Functional Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 13	Clay	Sustained Behaviour for 17 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes



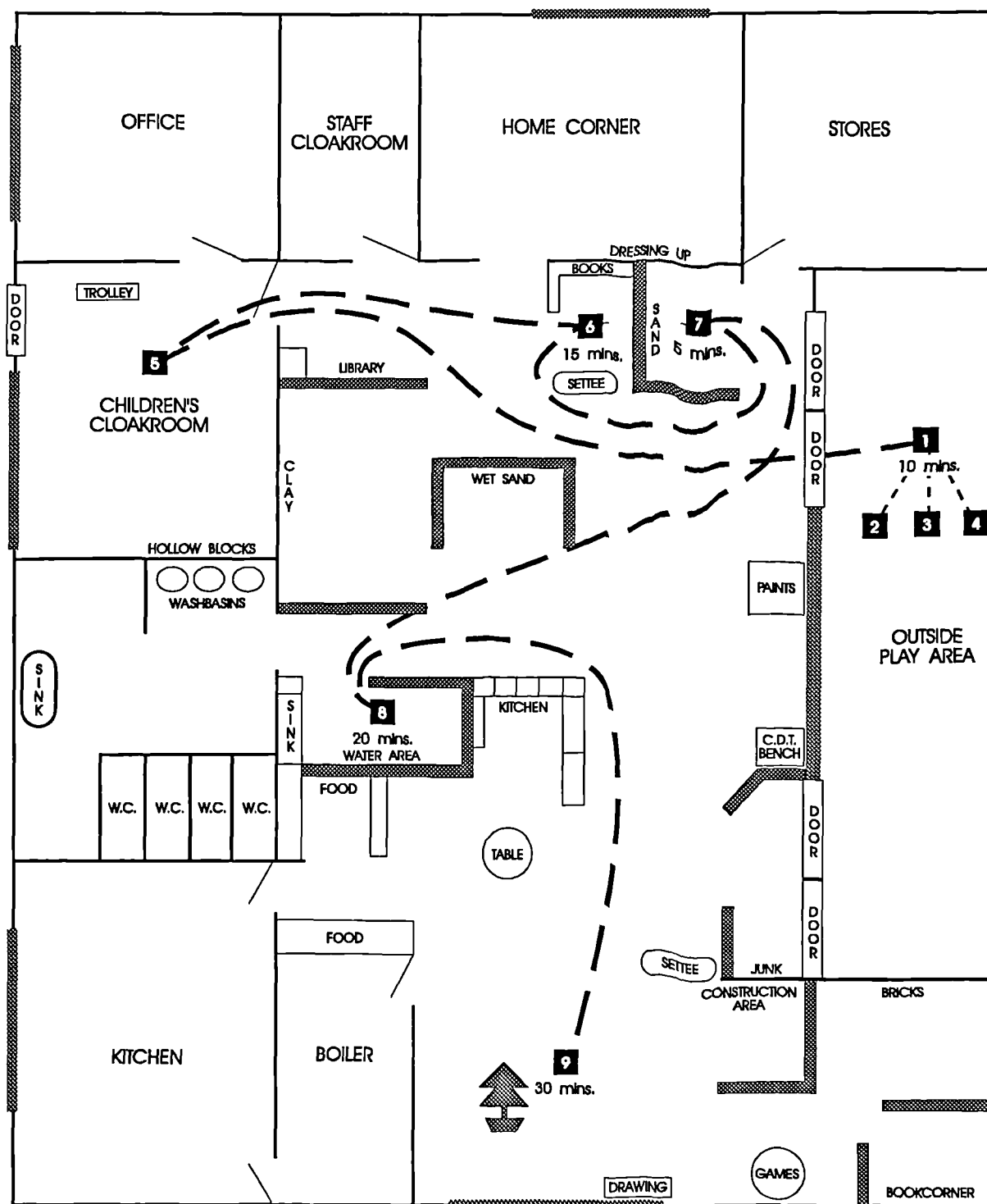
Activity 1	Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Transient Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 14	Water Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 7	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 38 minutes



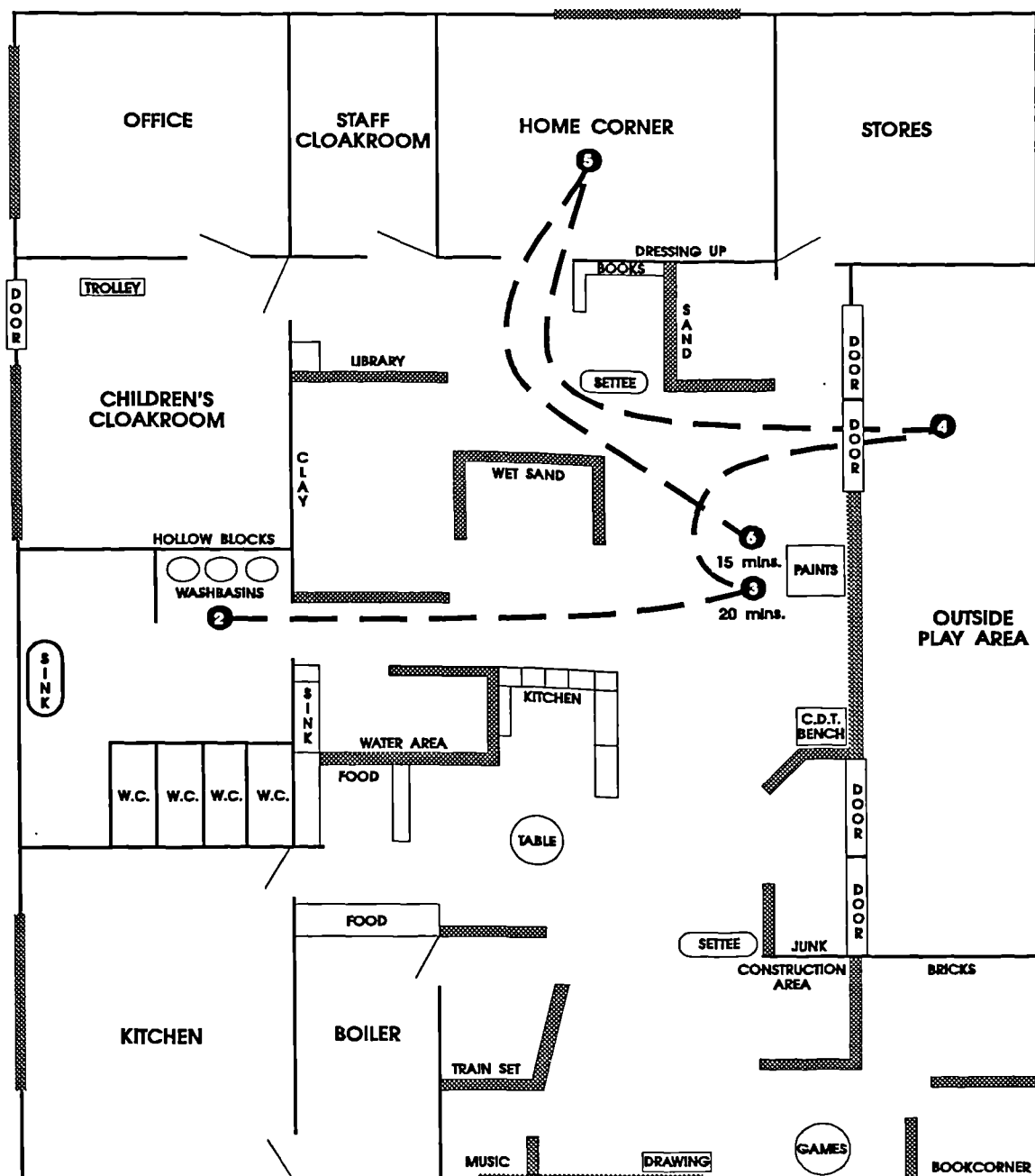
Activity 1	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 25 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 28	Corridor	Sustained Behaviour for 6 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 5	Home Corner	Sustained Behaviour for 8 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	Sustained Behaviour for 18 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 11	Junk Table	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes



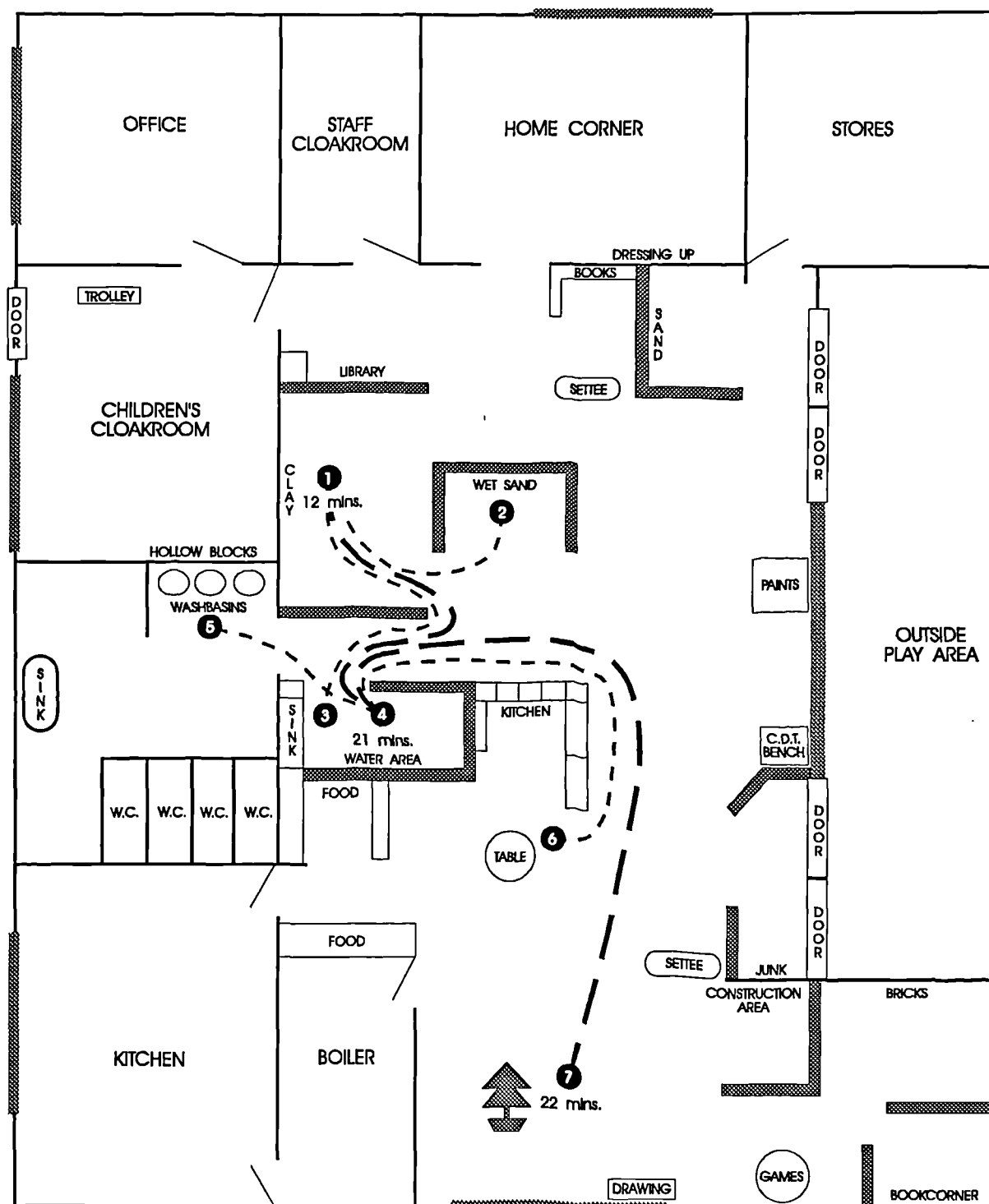
Activity 1	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 11 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 28	Corridor	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 5	Home Corner	Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 25 minutes



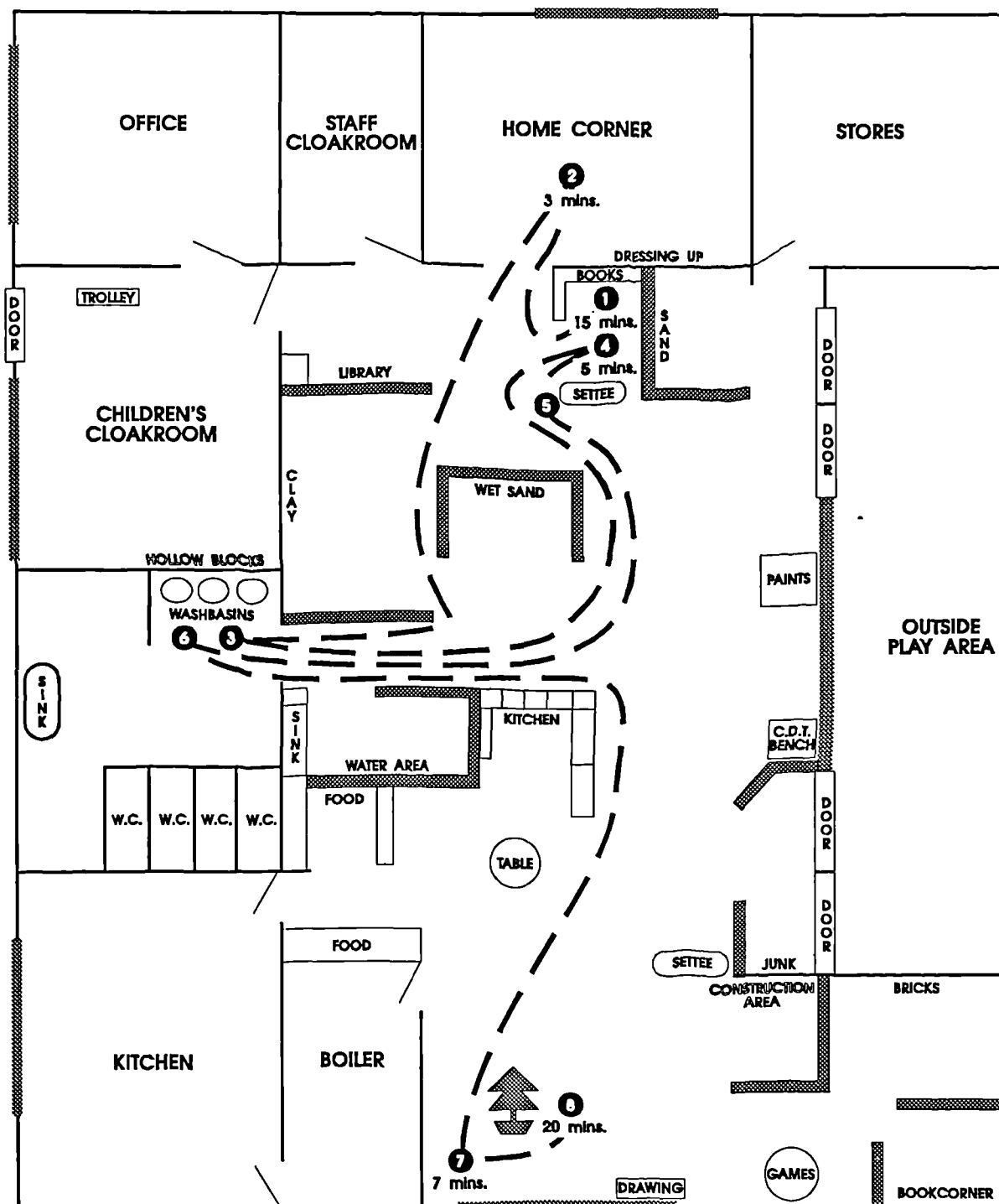
Activity 1	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Functional Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 9	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 30 minutes



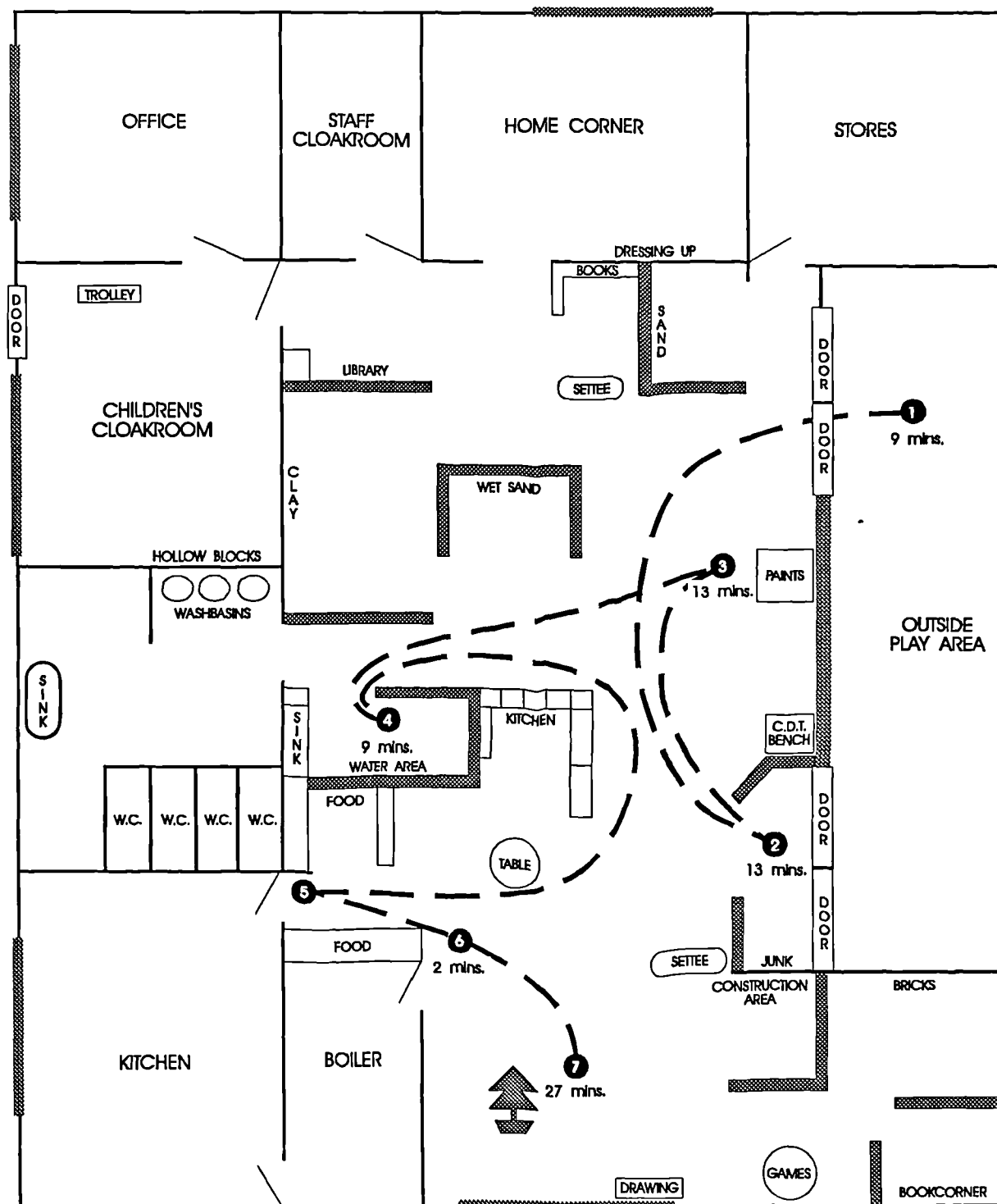
Activity 1	Main School	<i>Not on map</i>	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 15	Washbasins	Functional Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Related Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 5	Home Corner	Related Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 9	Paints	Related Behaviour for 15 minutes



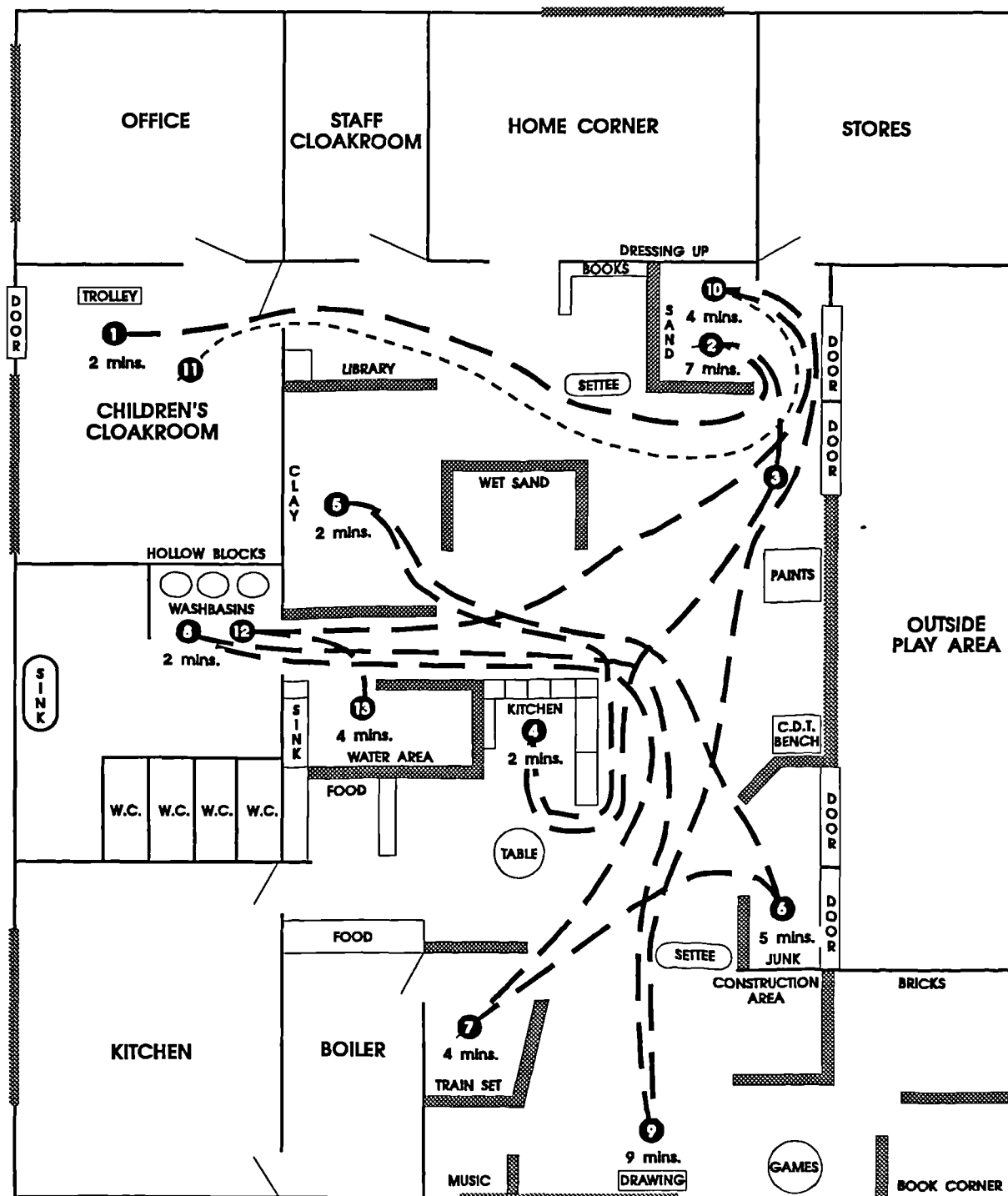
Activity 1	Domain 13	Clay	Sustained Behaviour for 12 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 12	Wet Sand	Transient Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 14	Water Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 21 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 7	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 22 minutes



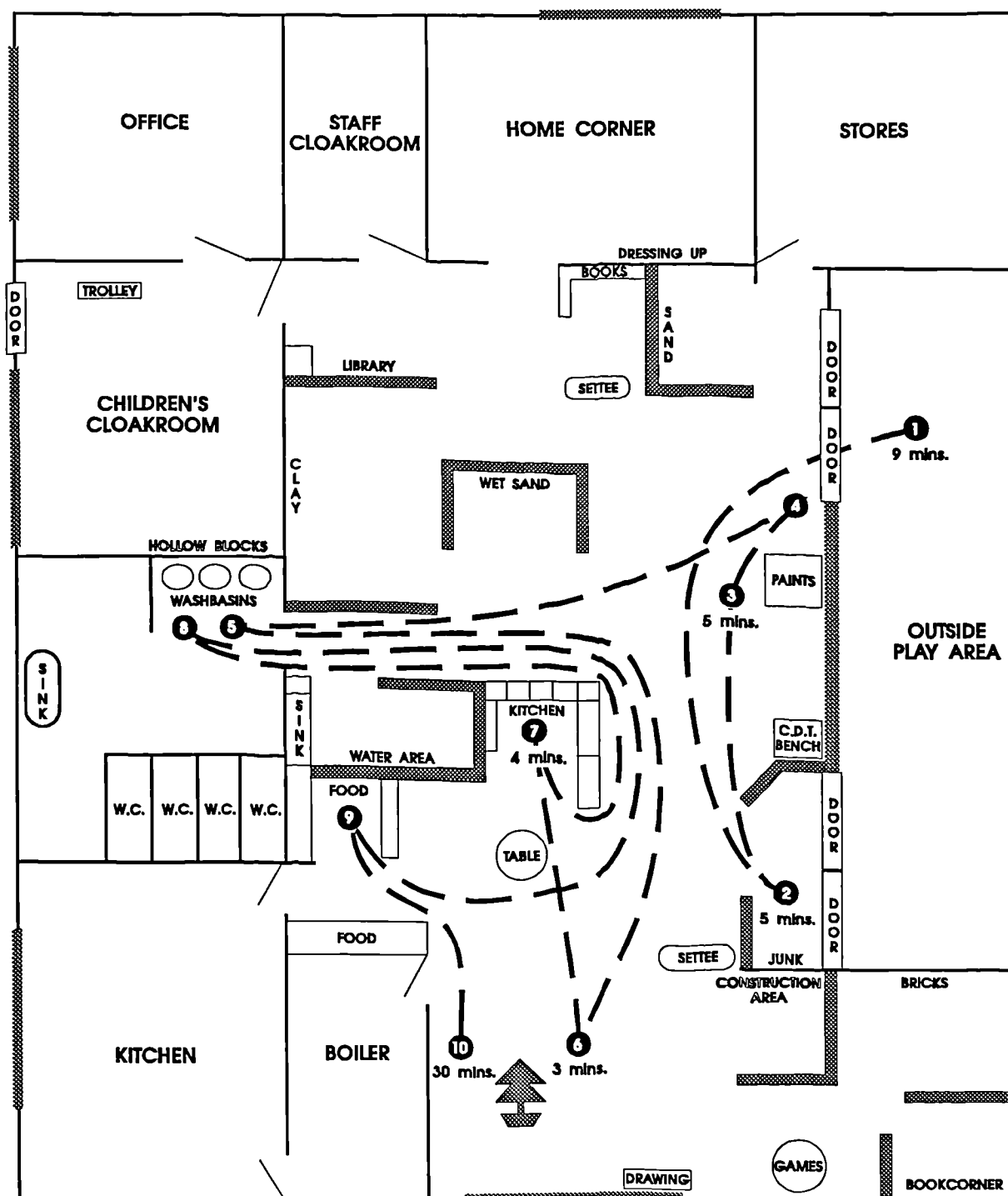
Activity 1	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 5	Home Corner	Sustained Behaviour for 3 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour for 1 minute
Activity 6	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 23	Music	Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 22/3	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes



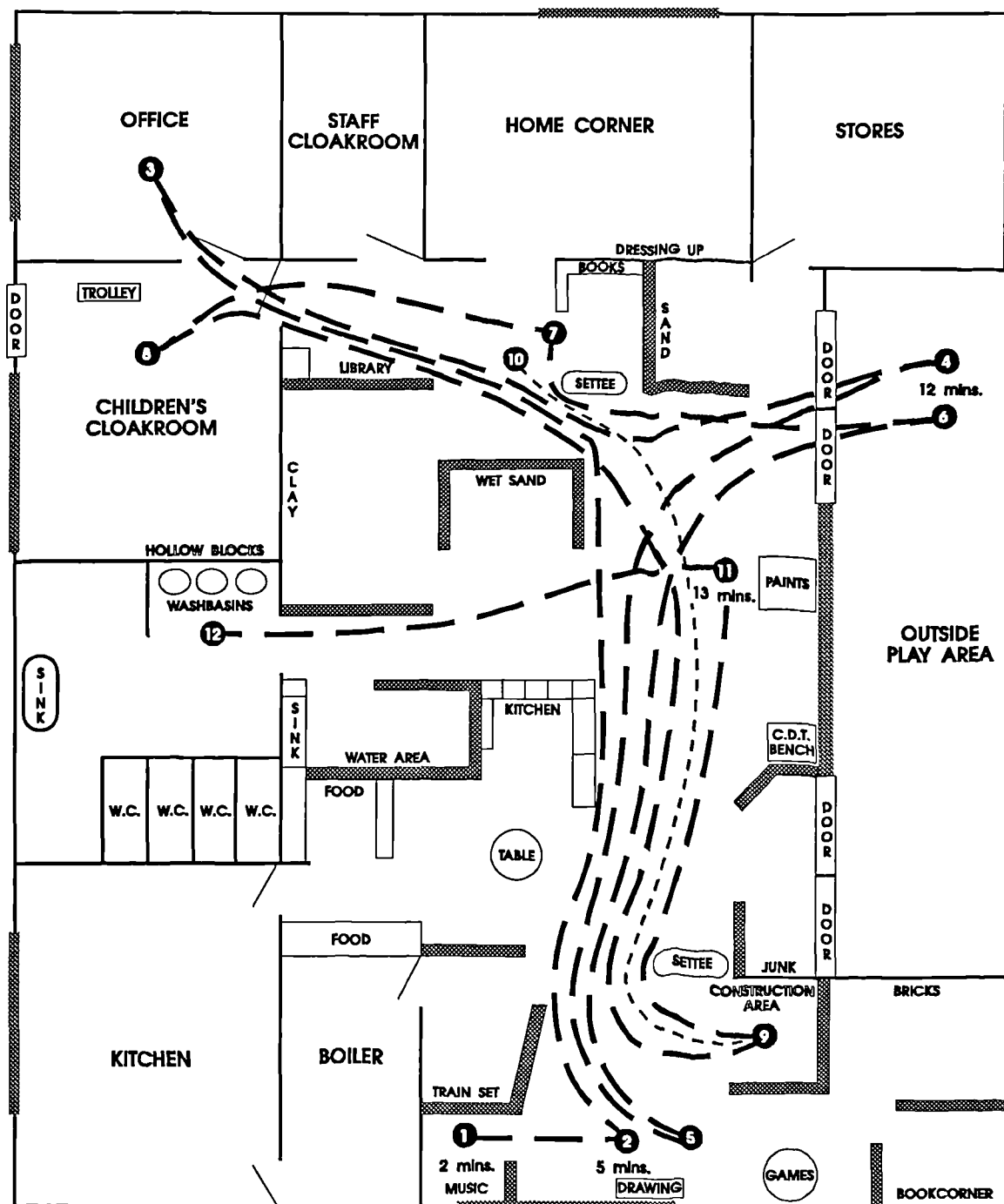
Activity 1	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 9 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 11	Junk Table	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 9 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 28	Corridor	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 27 minutes



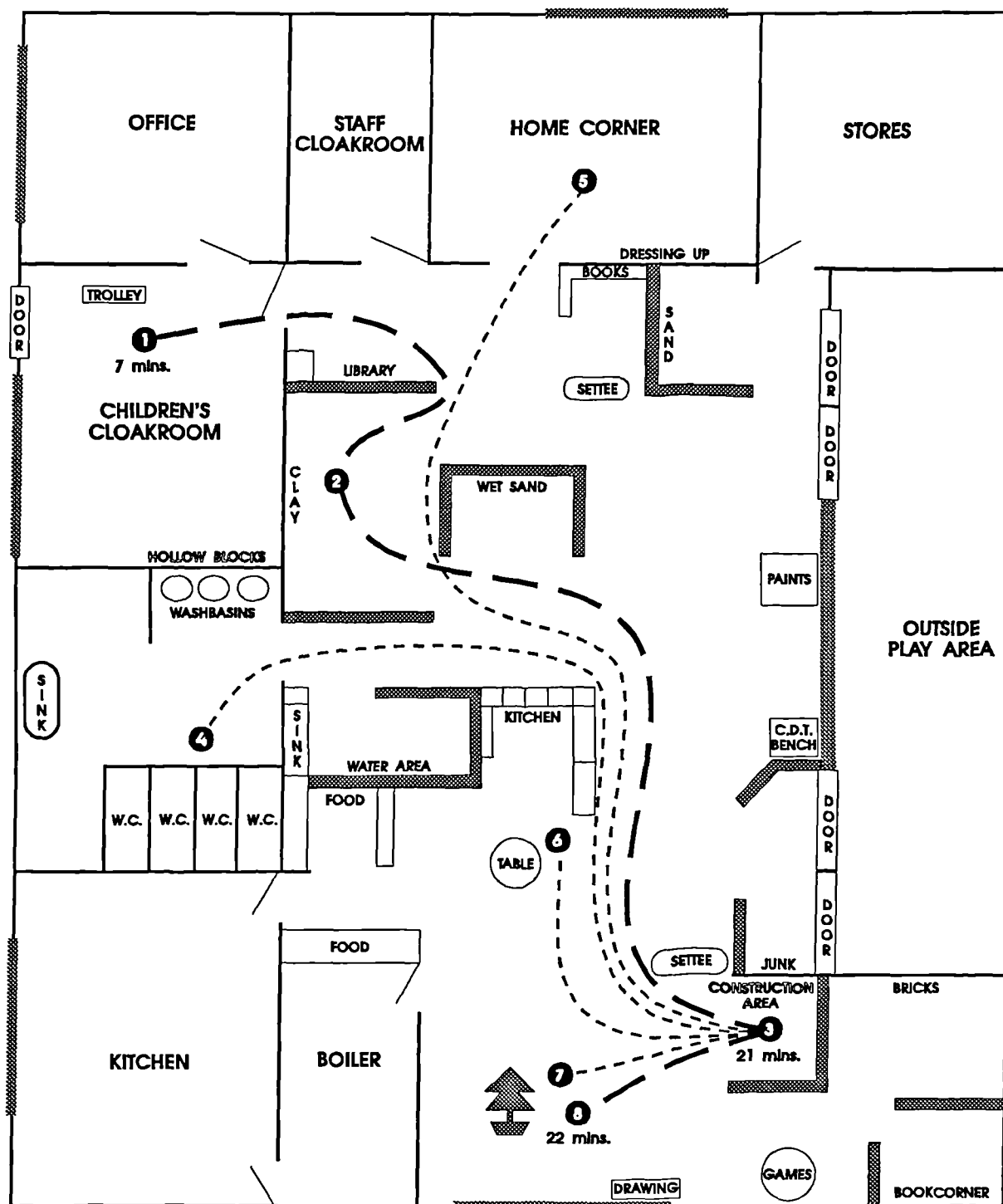
Activity 1	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Functional Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 13	Clay	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 6	Domain 11	Junk Table	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 22	Train Set	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 9	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 9 minutes
Activity 10	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 11	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Related Behaviour
Activity 12	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 13	Domain 14	Water Area	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes



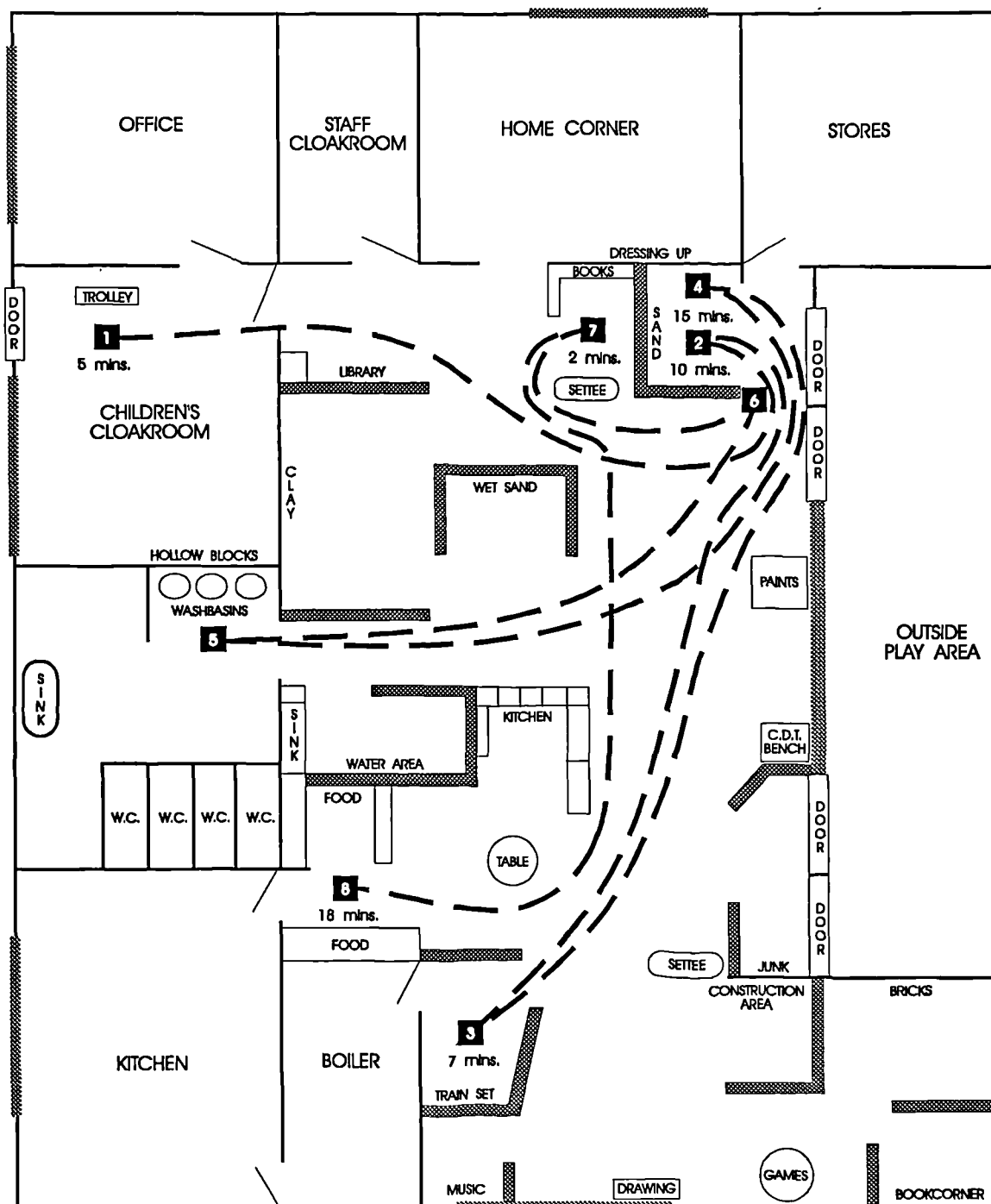
Activity 1	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 9 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 11	Junk Table	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 3 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 18	Pretend Kitchen	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour for 3 minutes
Activity 9	Domain 19	Food	Transient Behaviour
Activity 10	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 30 minutes



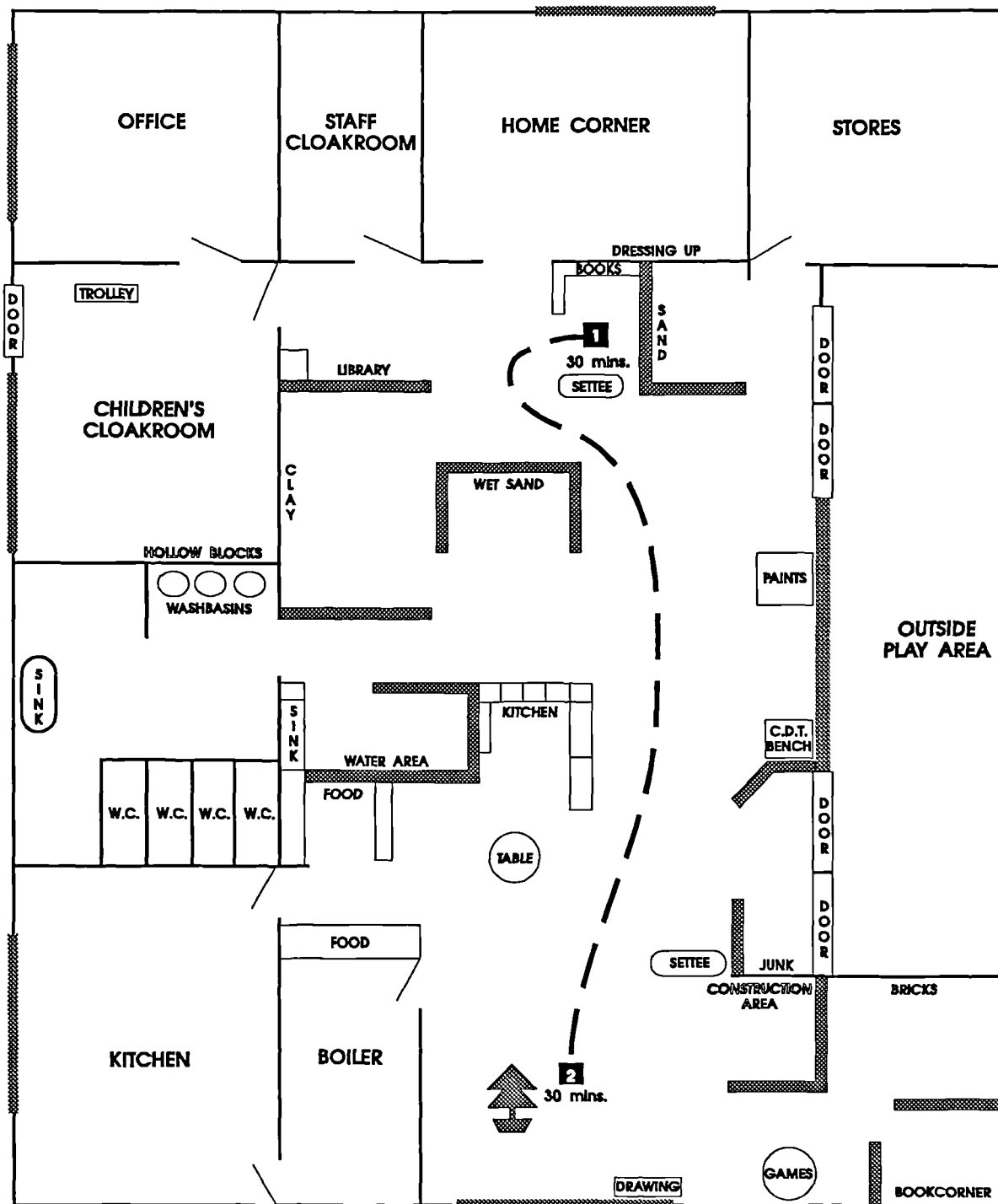
Activity 1	Domain 23	Music	Sustained Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 2	Office	Related Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 12 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 24	Drawing Table	Transient Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 4 minutes
Activity 7	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 8	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Transient Behaviour
Activity 9	Domain 21	Construction Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 10	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 11	Domain 9	Paints	Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes
Activity 12	Domain 15	Washbasins	Related Behaviour



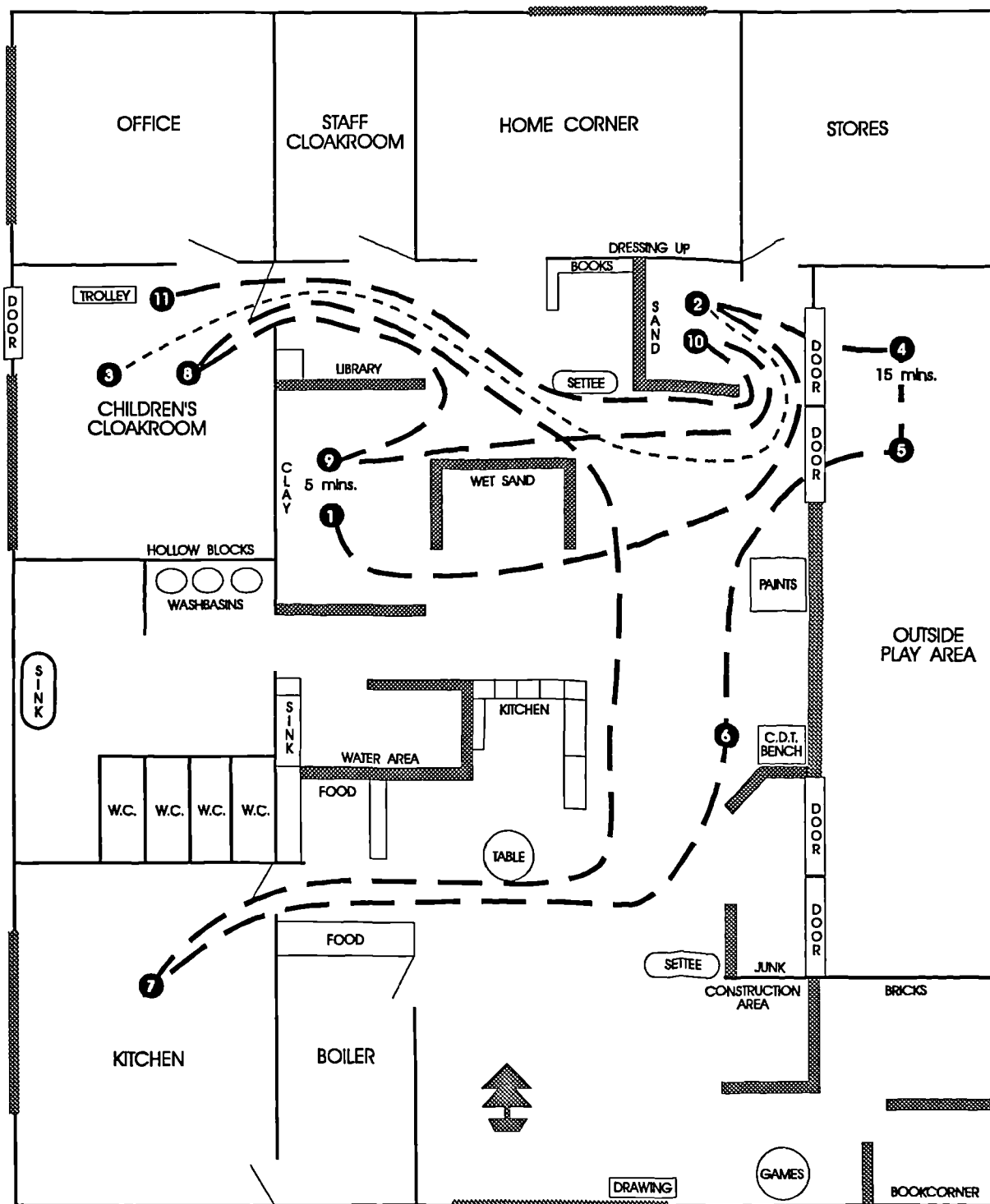
Activity 1	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 13	Clay	Transient Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 21	Construction Area	Sustained Behaviour for 21 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 17	WCs	Transient Behaviour
Activity 5	Domain 5	Home Corner	Transient Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 7	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Functional Behaviour
Activity 8	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 22 minutes



Activity 1	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 10 minutes
Activity 3	Domain 22	Train Set	Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
Activity 4	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 15	Washbasins	Functional Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 28	Corridor	Transient Behaviour
Activity 7	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 2 minutes
Activity 8	Domain 19	Food	Sustained Behaviour for 18 minutes



Activity 1	Domain 6	Books	Sustained Behaviour for 30 minutes
Activity 2	Domain 22/23	Christmas Tree	Sustained Behaviour for 30 minutes



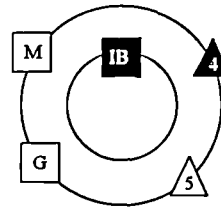
Activity 1	Domain 13	Clay	Transient Behaviour
Activity 2	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Transient Behaviour
Activity 3	Domain 1	Children's Classroom	Transient Behaviour
Activity 4	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Sustained Behaviour for 15 minutes
Activity 5	Domain 8	Outside Play Area	Transient Behaviour
Activity 6	Domain 10	CDT Bench	Transient Behaviour
Activity 7	Domain 20	Staff Kitchen	Transient Behaviour
Activity 8	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Transient Behaviour
Activity 9	Domain 13	Clay	Sustained Behaviour for 5 minutes
Activity 10	Domain 7	Dry Sand	Transient Behaviour
Activity 11	Domain 1	Children's Cloakroom	Transient Behaviour

APPENDIX C

**SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS OF
INFORMANTS' CONTACTS WITHIN THE
NURSERY**

Activity 1

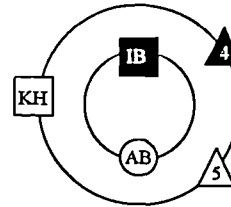
Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour
2 minutes



G Geoffrey
M Michael

Activity 2

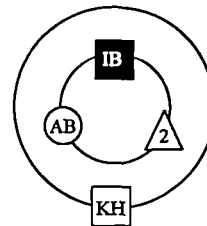
Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour
5 minutes



AB Azia
KH Kamran

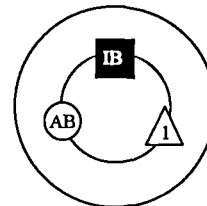
Activity 3

Domain 21
Construction Area
Sustained Behaviour
6 minutes



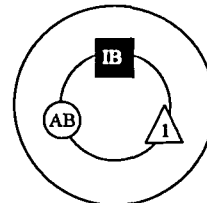
Activity 4

Domain 17
WCs
Functional Behaviour
2 minutes



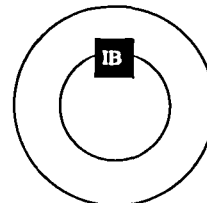
Activity 5

Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
6 minutes



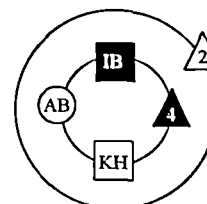
Activity 6

Domain 12
Wet Sand
Sustained Behaviour
4 minutes



Activity 7
(continued)

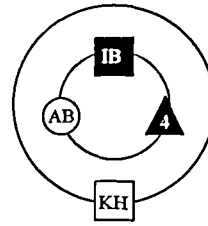
Domain 24
Drawing Table
Sustained Behaviour
10 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

Activity 8

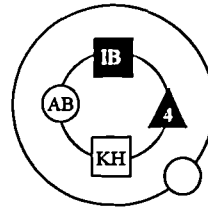
Domain 23
Music
Sustained Behaviour
13 minutes



AB Azia
KH Kamran

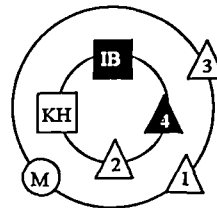
Activity 9

Domain 24
Drawing Table
Sustained Behaviour
10 minutes



Activity 10

Domain 5
Home Corner
Sustained Behaviour
10 minutes

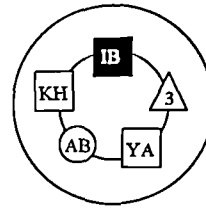


M Michelle

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

Activity 1

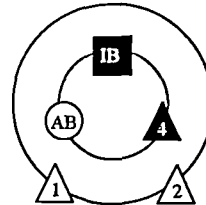
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Sustained Behaviour
15 minutes



(AB) Azia
(KH) Kamran
(YA) Yassair

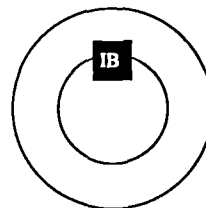
Activity 2

Domain 6
Books
Related Behaviour
5 minutes



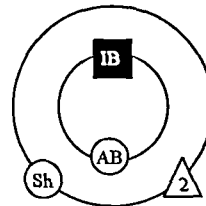
Activity 3

Domain 3
Library
Functional Behaviour



Activity 4

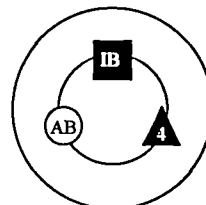
Domain 13
Clay
Sustained Behaviour
17 minutes



(Sh) Shamaila

Activity 5

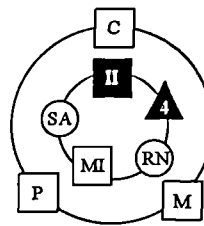
Domain 14
Water Area
Sustained Behaviour
13 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

Activity 1

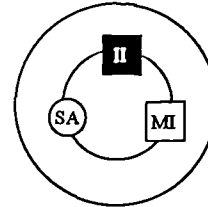
Domain 18
Pretend Kitchen
Sustained Behaviour
20 minutes



C Christopher
M Michael
MI Mushtifaq
P Paul
RN Rabila
SA Shazia

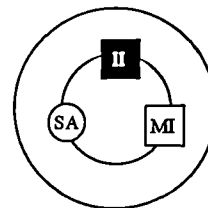
Activity 2

Domain 12
Wet Sand
Transient Behaviour



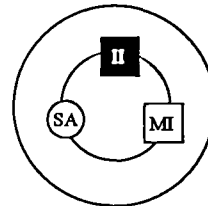
Activity 3

Domain 14
Water Area
Transient Behaviour



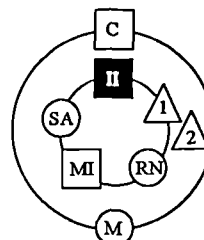
Activity 4

Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Transient Behaviour



Activity 5

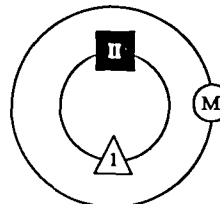
Domain 9
Paints
Sustained Behaviour
15 minutes



M Melanie

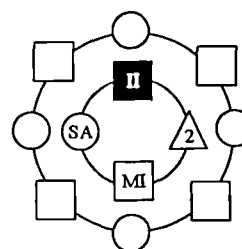
Activity 6

Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour



Activity 7

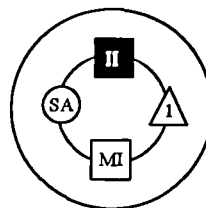
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Sustained Behaviour
38 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

Activity 1

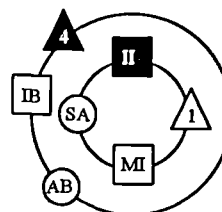
Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
25 minutes



MI Mushtifaq
SA Shazia

Activity 2

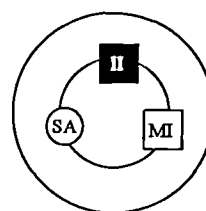
Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour
2 minutes



AB Azia
IB Imran

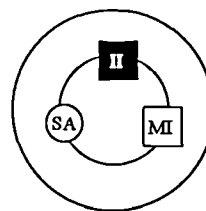
Activity 3

Domain 28
Corridor
Sustained Behaviour
6 minutes



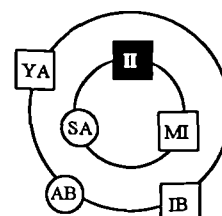
Activity 4

Domain 5
Home Corner
Sustained Behaviour
8 minutes



Activity 5

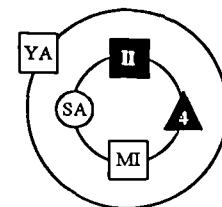
Domain 18
Pretend Kitchen
Sustained Behaviour
18 minutes



YA Yassair

Activity 6

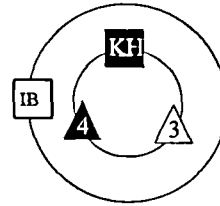
Domain 11
Junk Table
Sustained Behaviour
15 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ■ Informant

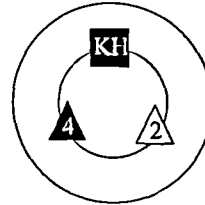
Activity 1

Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
11 minutes



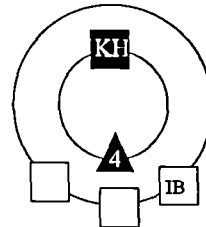
Activity 2

Domain 28
Corridor
Related Behaviour
2 minutes



Activity 3

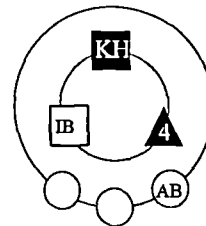
Domain 5
Home Corner
Sustained Behaviour
7 minutes



IB Imran

Activity 4

Domain 24
Drawing Table
Sustained Behaviour
25 minutes

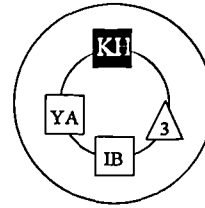


AB Azia

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

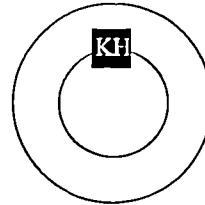
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Sustained Behaviour
10 minutes



IB Imran
YA Yassair

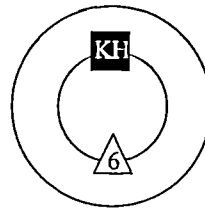
Activity 5

Domain 1
Children's Cloakroom
Functional Behaviour



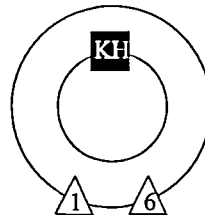
Activity 6

Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
15 minutes



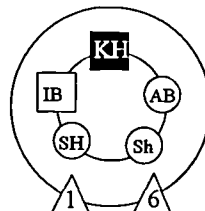
Activity 7

Domain 7
Dry Sand
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



Activity 8

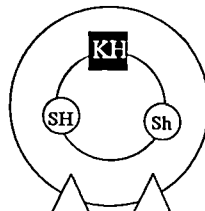
Domain 14
Water Area
Sustained Behaviour
20 minutes



AB Azia
Sh Shamaila
SH Shazad

Activity 9

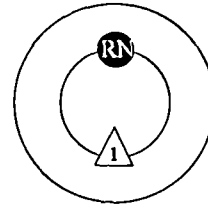
Domain 22/23
Christmas Tree
Sustained Behaviour
30 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

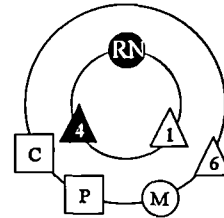
Activity 1

Visit to Main School Building



Activity 2

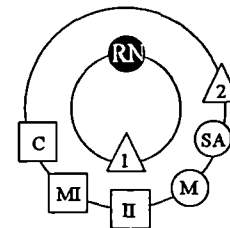
Domain 15
Washbasins
Functional Behaviour



C Christopher
M Melanie
P Phillip

Activity 3

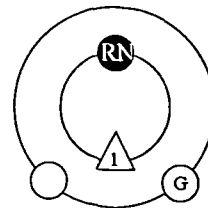
Domain 9
Paints
Sustained Behaviour
20 minutes



II Ishtiaq
MI Mushtifaq
SA Shazia

Activity 4

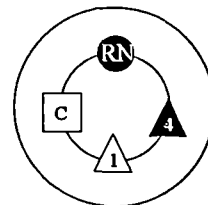
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Related Behaviour



G Gemma

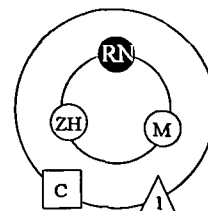
Activity 5

Domain 5
Home Corner
Related Behaviour



Activity 6

Domain 9
Paints
Related Behaviour
15 minutes

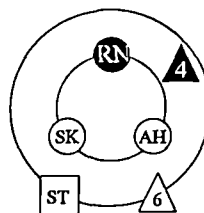


ZH Sabia

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

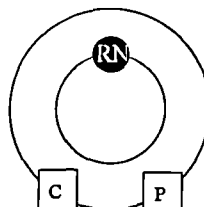
Domain 13
Clay
Sustained Behaviour
12 minutes



⊙ AH Ammara
⊙ SK Sumera

Activity 2

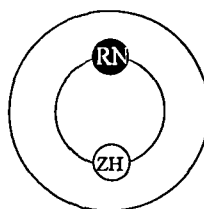
Domain 12
Wet Sand
Transient Behaviour



⊙ C Christopher
⊙ P Phillip

Activity 4

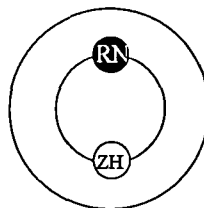
Domain 14
Water Area
Sustained Behaviour
21 minutes



⊙ ZH Sabia

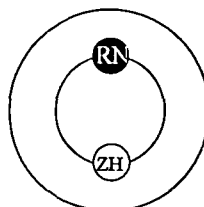
Activity 5

Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour



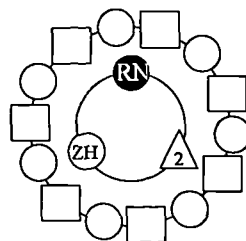
Activity 6

Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour



Activity 7

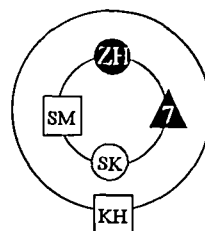
Domain 22/23
Christmas Tree
Sustained Behaviour
22 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

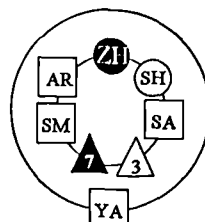
Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
15 minutes



KH Kamran
SM Sofees
SK Sumera

Activity 2

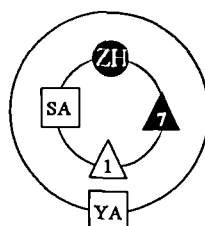
Domain 5
Home Corner
Sustained Behaviour
3 minutes



AR Atteeq
SH Shazad
SA Sufyaan
YA Yassair

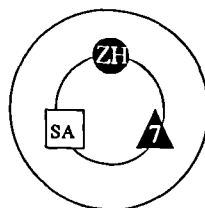
Activity 3

Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour



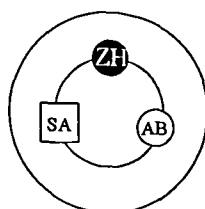
Activity 4

Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



Activity 5

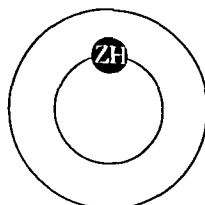
Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour
1 minute



AB Azia

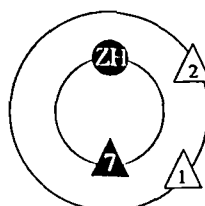
Activity 6

Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour
2 minutes



Activity 7

Domain 23
Music
Sustained Behaviour
6 minutes

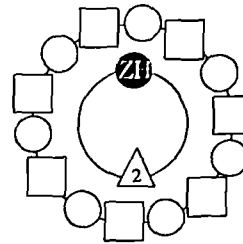


(continued)

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 8

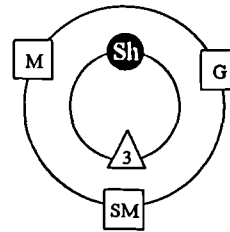
Domain 22/23
Christmas Tree
Sustained Behaviour
20 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

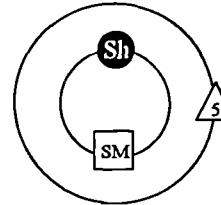
Domain 1
Children's Cloakroom
Functional Behaviour
2 minutes



G Geoffrey
M Michael
SM Sofees

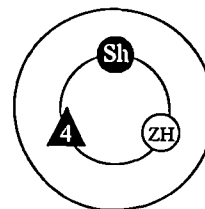
Activity 2

Domain 7
Dry Sand
Sustained Behaviour
7 minutes



Activity 3

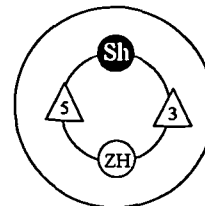
Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour



ZH Sabia

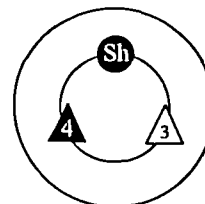
Activity 4

Domain 18
Pretend Kitchen
Related Behaviour
2 minutes



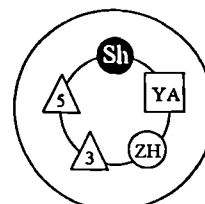
Activity 5

Domain 13
Clay
Related Behaviour
2 minutes



Activity 6

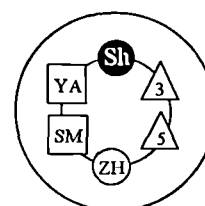
Domain 11
Junk Table
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



YA Yassair

Activity 7

Domain 22
Train Set
Sustained Behaviour
4 minutes

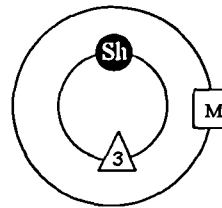


(continued)

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 8

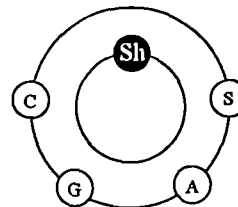
Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour
2 minutes



M Michael

Activity 9

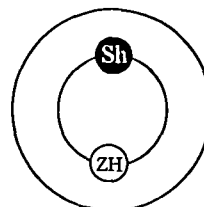
Domain 24
Drawing Table
Sustained Behaviour
9 minutes



C Clare
G Gemma
A Amy
S Susan

Activity 10

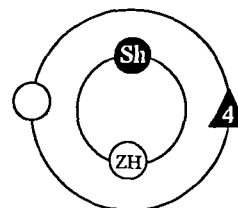
Domain 7
Dry Sand
Sustained Behaviour
4 minutes



ZH Sabia

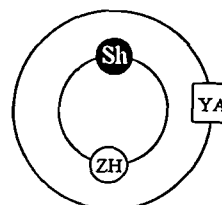
Activity 11

Domain 1
Children's Cloakroom
Related Behaviour



Activity 12

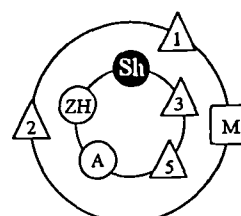
Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour



YA Yassair

Activity 13

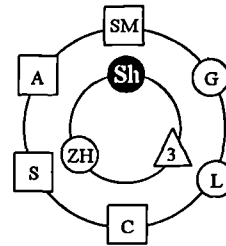
Domain 14
Water Area
Sustained Behaviour
4 minutes



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

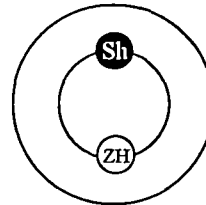
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Sustained Behaviour
9 minutes



A Alan
C Christopher
G Gemma
L Lyndsey
ZH Sabia
S Stuart
SM Sofees

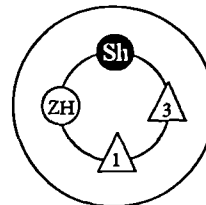
Activity 2

Domain 11
Junk Table
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



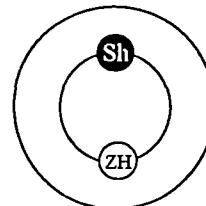
Activity 3

Domain 9
Paints
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



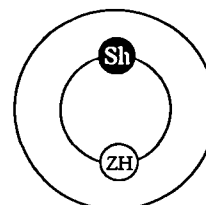
Activity 4

Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour



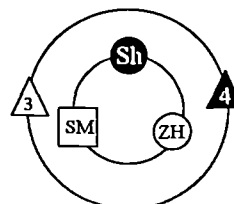
Activity 5

Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour



Activity 6

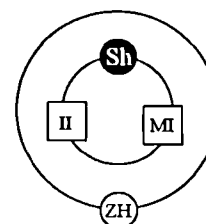
Domain 22/23
Christmas Tree
Sustained Behaviour
3 minutes



SM Sofees

Activity 7

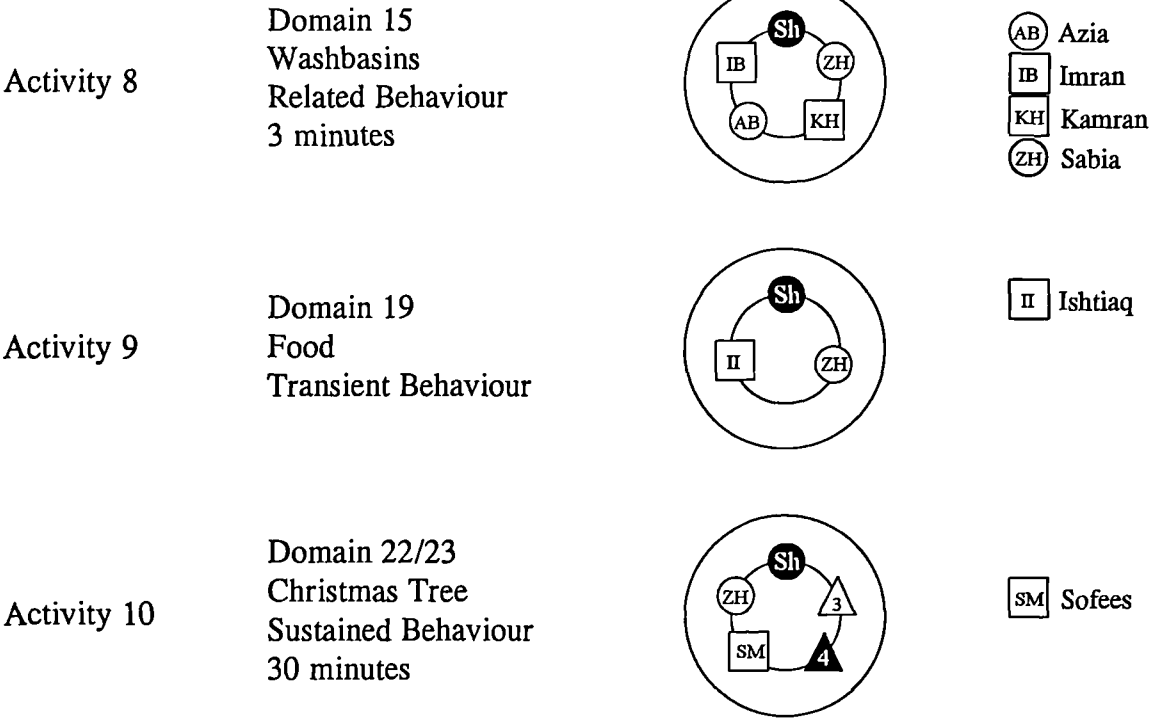
Domain 18
Pretend Kitchen
Sustained Behaviour
4 minutes



II Ishtiaq
MI Mushtifaq

(continued)

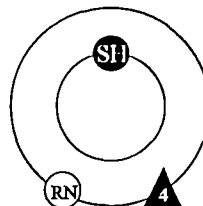
KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant



KEY:
 Girl
 Boy
△ Monolingual Teacher
▲ Bilingual Teacher
● Informant

Activity 1

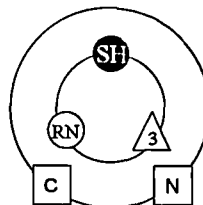
Domain 23
Music
Sustained Behaviour
2 minutes



(RN) Rabila

Activity 2

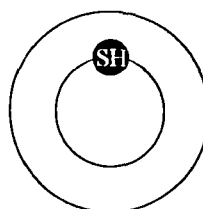
Domain 24
Drawing Table
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



C Christopher
N Neville

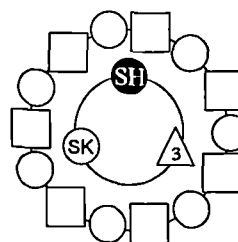
Activity 3

Domain 2
Office
Related Behaviour



Activity 4

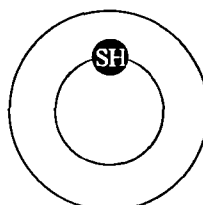
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Sustained Behaviour
12 minutes



(SK) Sumera

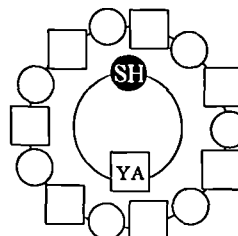
Activity 5

Domain 24
Drawing Table
Transient Behaviour



Activity 6

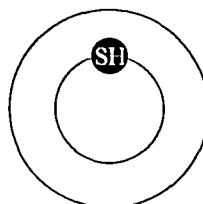
Domain 8
Outside Play Area
Sustained Behaviour
4 minutes



YA Yassair

Activity 7

Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour

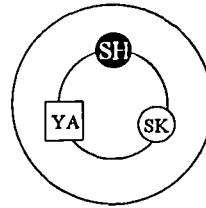


(continued)

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 8

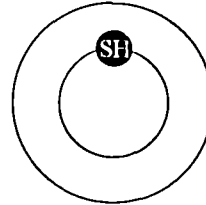
Domain 1
Children's Cloakroom
Transient Behaviour



SK Sumera
YA Yassair

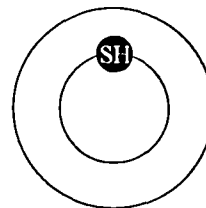
Activity 9

Domain 21
Construction Area
Transient Behaviour



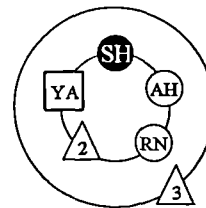
Activity 10

Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour



Activity 11

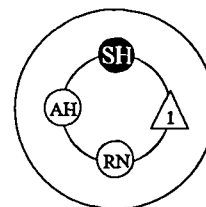
Domain 9
Paints
Sustained Behaviour
13 minutes



AH Ammara
RN Rabila

Activity 12

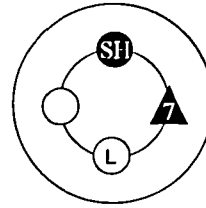
Domain 15
Washbasins
Related Behaviour



KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

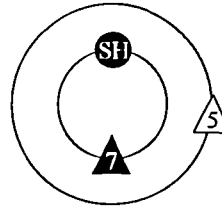
Domain 1
Children's Cloakroom
Sustained Behaviour
7 minutes



(L) Laurie

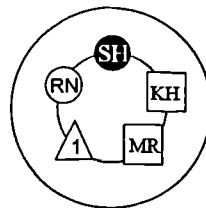
Activity 2

Domain 13
Clay
Transient Behaviour



Activity 3

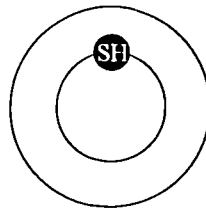
Domain 21
Construction Area
Sustained Behaviour
21 minutes



(KH) Kamran
(MR) Mutheza
(RN) Rabila

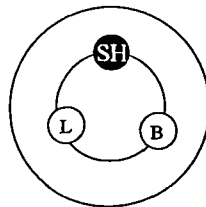
Activity 4

Domain 17
WCs
Transient Behaviour



Activity 5

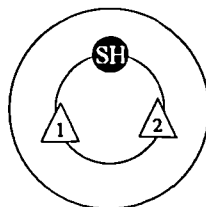
Domain 5
Home Corner
Transient Behaviour



(B) Bianca

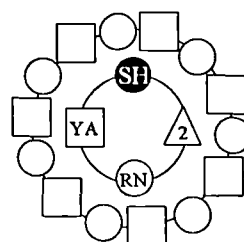
Activity 7

Domain 22/23
Christmas Tree
Functional Behaviour



Activity 8

Domain 22/23
Christmas Tree
Sustained Behaviour
22 minutes

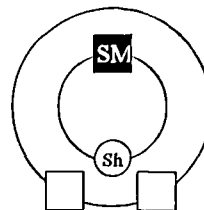


(YA) Yassair

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

Activity 1

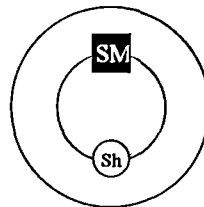
Domain 1
Children's Cloakroom
Sustained Behaviour
5 minutes



Sh Shamaila

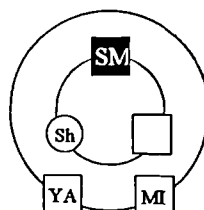
Activity 2

Domain 7
Dry Sand
Sustained Behaviour
10 minutes



Activity 3

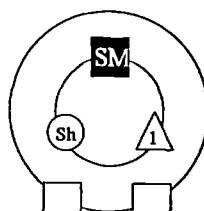
Domain 22
Train Set
Sustained Behaviour
7 minutes



MI Mushtifaq
YA Yassair

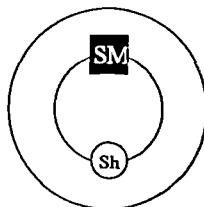
Activity 4

Domain 7
Dry Sand
Sustained Behaviour
15 minutes



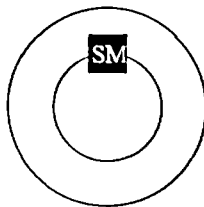
Activity 5

Domain 15
Washbasins
Functional Behaviour



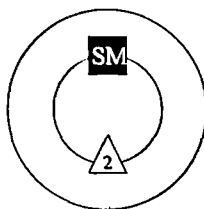
Activity 6

Domain 28
Corridor
Transient Behaviour



Activity 7

Domain 6
Books
Sustained Behaviour
2 minutes

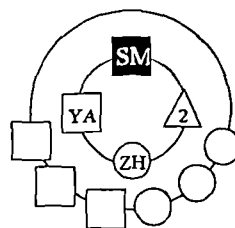


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KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant

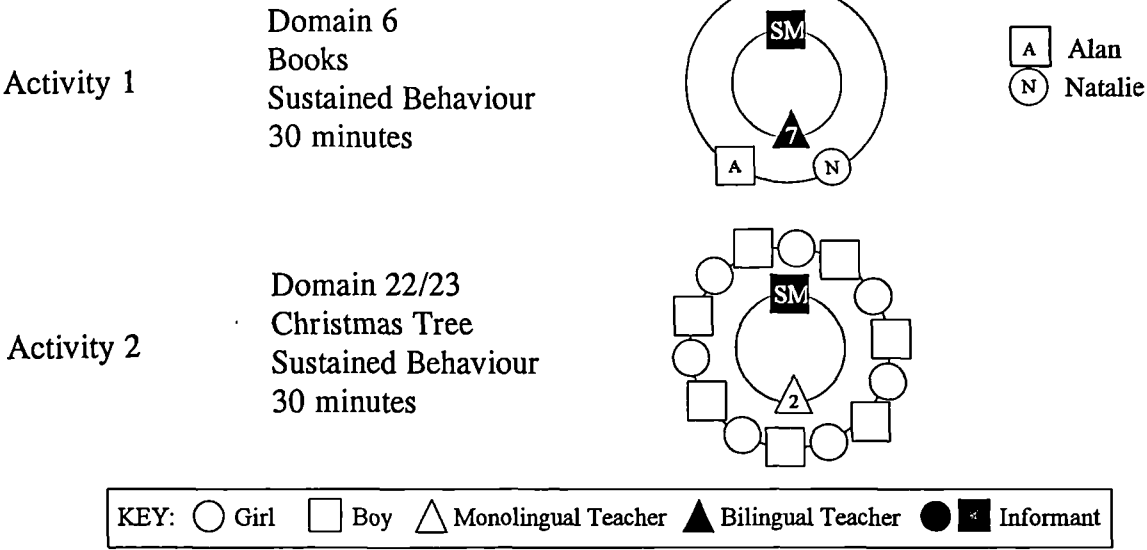
Activity 8

Domain 19
Food
Sustained Behaviour
18 minutes



(ZH) Sabia
(YA) Yassair

KEY: ○ Girl □ Boy △ Monolingual Teacher ▲ Bilingual Teacher ● Informant



APPENDIX D

TRANSCRIPTS OF DISCOURSE DATA

TRANSCRIPT 1	IMRAN	DAY 1
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40-58	Activity 1	Wandering the corridor Transient Behaviour 2 minutes
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1			(sound of banging)
2	41	Biling T4:	come on all play together
3		T5:	what are you doing Geoffrey

58-130	Activity 2	Outside Book Corner Transient Behaviour walking around 5 minutes
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4	58		outside Book Corner (Domain 6) where bilingual teacher (Biling T4)
5			is reading stories to other bilingual children
6		Biling T4:	P ☞ he mouse
7		Kamran:	the mouse ...drip, drip drip,
8		Azia:	P
9		Imran:	P
10		Biling T4:	and this one, woof, woof
11	79-89	Imran:	P (whispering)
12	89-104		(classroom noise)
13	100		
14	104	Imran:	P
15		Azia:	P
16	108-130		(classroom noise within hearing of the story session)

146-200	Activity 3	Construction Area (Domain 21) Sustained Behaviour 6 minutes
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17	146	T5:	Azia
18	153	Imran:	brrr (making playing noises)
19	169-177	Imran:	(making playing noises) sound of banging
20	177	Imran:	P (singing)
21		Azia:	P
22		Azia:	P
23		Imran:	P
24	186	Azia:	P
25	190		(sound of building bricks falling down)
26	200		(singing in background)
27	200-210		(enroute to toilets)
28		Azia:	P
29		Imran:	P
30	209	T:	Kamran, is that Kamran, Kamran you've forgotten to take your
31			snowman book home,
32		Kamran:	///
33		T2:	you've forgotten to take your snowman book home

213-227	Activity 4	Toilet visit Functional Behaviour 2 minutes
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34	213-225		conversation between Azia and Imran in Panjabi
35	225	T1:	come on you two, out you come
36	227		(sound of toilet flushing)

230-253	Activity 5	Book Corner (Domain 6) Sustained Behaviour 6 minutes
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37	232-240		conversation between Azia and Imran in Panjabi
38	246-250	Imran:	reading sounds to himself
39	253	T1:	go and play in the sand or in the water
40		Azia:	I want to do

260-301	Activity 6	Wet Sand (Domain 12) Sustained Behaviour 4 minutes
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41	263-		(classroom noise)
42	269	Imran:	P (talking to himself)
43	276	Imran:	P (talking to himself)
44	284	Imran:	P
45	295	Imran:	P
46	301	Imran:	(noises)

311-430	Activity 7	Drawing Table (Domain 24) Sustained Behaviour 10 minutes
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47	311		(adults talking to each other in background)
48	329	Imran:	P
49		Azia:	P
50	348	Biling T4:	Kamran's drawn a picture
51		Imran:	(imitates intonation)
52	359	Biling T4:	know what I like best, marmalade
53		Kamran:	marmalade
54		Biling T4:	I like lemon curd ...
55	361	Azia:	///
56	366		(sound of banging)
57	366-400		Biling T4 and Kamran talking inaudible
58		Biling T4:	no Kamran
59	385	Imran:	P
60	399	Kamran:	P
61		Imran:	P
62	406	Biling T4:	nearly finished
63	404-417		(classroom noise)
64	417	Azia:	P
65		Biling T4:	///
66	422	Imran:	P
67		Biling T4:	can you write Kamran, this is the way I write it, can you go over this
68			...writing
69		Imran:	///
70	425-		(classroom noise)

437-476	Activity 8	Music (Domain 23) Sustained Behaviour 13 minutes
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71	437		(sound of musical instruments)
72		Azia:	Imran
73	449	Imran:	P
74		Biling T4:	a what
75	453		(sound of chimes)
76	459	Imran:	(playing sounds)
77	464	Biling T4:	Imran
78	468		(sound of drums)
79		Child ?:	P
80		Biling T4:	P

476-530	Activity 9	Drawing Table (Domain 24) Sustained Behaviour 10 minutes
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81		Imran:	P
82		Kamran:	P
83		Imran:	brown
84		Kamran:	brown, move your hand
85	486-488		(classroom noise)
86	488	Biling T4:	P

87 Girl Child: there's Kamran
 88 492 Kamran: auntie, auntie
 89 Azia: P
 90 497 Imran: P
 91 Biling T4: just drawing some baby birds, the sort that you like, ... I think it's
 92 time. I think it's wooden, wooden shelves
 93 T5: he's very brave
 94 503-517 (classroom/work noise)
 95 517 Imran: P

520-577	Activity 10	Home Corner (Domain 5) Sustained Behaviour 10 minutes
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96 531 Imran: P
 97 Biling T4: you put clothes on
 98 538 Imran: P
 99 Child?: miss he's taken that off
 100 Imran: Kamran Kamran P
 101 Kamran: P
 102 545 T1: Michelle wants that one, when Michelle brings it back you can have it,
 103 right
 104 554 Girl : Rana found some *gori*
 105 Biling T4: is that the one then
 106 T1: he wanted that one, ... have to wash it
 107 T3: let me wash this
 108 T2: where's Imran, do you want yours off, wash it off then
 109 568 T2: we've only got one left haven't we
 110 571 Biling T4: put these away quickly
 111 T4: this is the coldest room in the nursery, even though we've got heater in
 112 here it's freezing

TAPE ENDS 577

65-243	Activity 1	Outside Play Area (Domain 8)
		Sustained Behaviour 15 minutes
12	65	Imran: I know this is right you know
13	70	Imran: daddy's car
14	72	Imran: Yassair
15	76	T3: out the way
16	78	Imran: oh no
17		Kamran: P
18	82	T3: Linda
19	85	Imran: P
20	94	T3: Christopher
21	96	Kamran: P
22	102	Imran: P
23		Yassair: P
24	107	(playing noises of blocks being moved)
25		Azia: P
26		Imran: P
27		Kamran: P
28		Imran: P
29	121	Imran: miss, miss is this ...
30		Kamran: P (shouting)
31	127-136	Imran: (making noises for driving car)
32	131	P
33	138	Imran: (making car noises) beep, beep
34	140	Imran: I want to go back to see ...er
35		Kamran: I don't know, beep, beep
36	146	Azia: P
37	148	T3: I tell you what Alan, you go and go and throw it to her
38	150-155	(playing noises)
39		Girl Child?: can I borrow that car
40		Imran: you sit in the back
41	161	Imran: P
42		Kamran: P
43	168	Imran: P
44	160	Kamran: no, no you're pulling it all
45		T3: Kamran 's playing there, leave Kamran to drive please
46		Imran: P
47		Kamran: P
48		T3: Imran will play
49		Kamran: (complaining to teacher- inaudible) ///
50		T3: leave Imran to drive please
51	188	T3: one minute
52	188-194	(background playing noise)
53	194	T3: no, you're not supposed to fall off there, where you going, where you
54		driving to, Yassair where's Imran taking you
55		Yassair: ///
56		T3: where you going, is it a taxi, is it a bus or is it a car, car, where you
57		going, to town, ready to go
58		Imran: P
59	211	Imran: P
60		Azia: P
61		Imran: Yassair, Yassair, that's enough
62	220-224	(making driving noises)
63		Yassair: (upset)
64		T3: no I do not think that is a very good game at all, you boys have been
65		very silly
66		Azia: P
67		T3: if you play silly games again do you know what I'm going to do, bring
68		you in the nursery to sit down and then you won't play with anything

69 236 T3: (in background to others) I hope to get my turn
 70 Imran: P
 71 Azia: P
 72 Imran: P
 73 T3: ///

74 Imran: I found a book on the ...(runs inside)

244-294	Activity 2	Book Corner (Domain 6) Related Behaviour 5 minutes
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75 245-257 (classroom noise)
 76 252 T2: where's Gary, anybody seen Gary
 77 257 T2: have you seen Gary
 78 Imran: P
 79 Azia: P
 80 267- (classroom noise)
 81 270 T2: we're going
 82 T2: what's the matter
 83 Imran: P
 84 Azia: P
 85 Imran: P
 86 280 Azia: Shazia
 87 284 T1: (in the background telling/reading story) so here we go, here we go but
 88 the sledge didn't go, it got stuck in the snow
 89 288 T2: (in the background) you been camping
 90 Imran: P
 91 292 Biling T4: P
 92 Imran: P

294-520	Activity 4	Clay Modelling (Domain 13) Sustained Behaviour 17 minutes
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93 294-300 (classroom noise)
 94 299 Imran: P
 95 Azia: P
 96 Imran: P
 97 300 (classroom noise)
 98 315 Imran: P
 99 T1: Stuart, don't go outside
 100 Azia: oh no, no, no, no, no eeh
 101 Imran: P
 102 Azia: (sounds upset)
 103 Imran: P ਓ good girl
 104 T2: what are you making, you've made a biscuit, mm I like biscuits
 105 329-336 (Imran and Azia conversation in Panjabi)
 106 Imran: P
 107 Azia: P
 108 Imran: P
 109 336-342 (classroom noise)
 110 342-356 (Imran and Azia conversation in Panjabi)
 111 Azia: P
 112 Imran: P
 113 Azia: P
 114 Imran: P
 115 Azia: P
 116 Imran: P
 117 Azia: P ਓ come on
 118 Imran: P
 119 356 T2: er, er, you'll never get the paper cut with these, never
 120 356-366 (Imran and Azia conversation in Panjabi)
 121 Azia: P

122 Imran: P
 123 Azia: P
 124 Imran: P (whispering)
 125 Azia: P
 126 Imran: P
 127 Azia: P
 128 Imran: P
 129 366-37 (sounds of clay modelling)
 130 Azia: P
 131 Imran: P
 132 377 T2: (in the background) has anyone seen ...
 133 T1: how many do you need
 134 T2: one
 135 Azia: P
 136 T1: how many have you made, look one, two, three, how many have you
 137 made, one, two and Azia's made one two three
 138 389- (Panjabi in background)
 139 Imran: P
 140 Azia: P
 141 Imran: P
 142 Azia: P
 143 Imran: P
 144 400-414 (classroom noise)
 145 Imran: P
 146 Azia: P
 147 Imran: P
 148 Azia: P (upset)
 149 Imran: P
 150 416 Azia: P (mimicking)
 151 420- (classroom noise)
 152 Imran: (laughing) P
 153 Azia: P
 154 Imran: P
 155 425-433 (conversation between Imran and Azia in Panjabi)
 156 434 Azia: give it me back
 157 Imran: P
 158 Azia: you can't have it
 159 438 (tape recording of Jingle Bells playing in the background)
 160 Azia: P
 161 Imran: P
 162 Azia: ☞ good girl
 163 Imran: P
 164 Azia: P
 165 Imran: (raised voice)
 166 Azia: P
 167 Imran: P
 168 454- (classroom noise)
 169 456-475 (conversation between Imran and Azia in Panjabi)
 170 Imran: P
 171 Child?: Azia
 172 459 Shamaila: (singing)
 173 Imran: P *gori*
 174 478 Shamaila: (singing)
 175 486 Imran: P
 176 Azia: P
 177 495 Imran: P
 178 Azia: P
 179 497 Imran: P eh eh eh eh
 180 502 Azia: P
 181 503-520 (classroom noise)

520-600	Activity 5	Water Play (Domain 14) Sustained Behaviour 13 minutes
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182	528-544		(sounds of water play blowing bubbles and background sounds)
183		Azia:	P
184	553	Biling T4:	P
185			(sounds of water play continue)
186	570	Imran:	P
187	580		(Background: children speaking Panjabi)
188	590		(Background: classroom sounds)
189	600		

TAPE ENDS 601

44-200	Activity 1	Pretend Kitchen (Domain 18) Sustained Behaviour for 20 minutes
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1	44-75	Biling T4:	P
2	77	Biling T4:	P
3			☞good boy that's it ... green ... green jackets, green blocks
4			P
5			☞green
6		Ishtiaq:	green jackets
7		Biling T4:	green jackets
8	87	Ishtiaq:	P yalo, yalo,yalo
9		Mushtifaq:	P yalo, yalo
10	107	Biling T4:	E☞better won't it?
11	116	Biling T4:	P
12		T1:	will you say thank you for me to ...
13			P
14	157	Biling T4:	P
15			☞ what's her name?
16	169	Biling T4:	P☞Mrs. Malloch
17		Ishtiaq:	P
18		Mushtifaq:	P
19		Ishtiaq:	P
20		Biling T4:	Christopher, Paul are you swearing? P
21	183	Biling T4:	P
22			☞ turn the oven off
23	195		(music in the background)

201-350	Activities 2, 3 & 4	Transient Behaviour
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24	201	Biling T4:	oh thank you for ...
25	210	Biling T4:	sit down here Natalie, you sit down here
26	219	Biling T4:	(to T2) Sheila, you remind me of Marilyn Monroe (Mono ling. T2 is dressed up in a hat. She is with a small group of children)
27			
28		T2:	yes, we're off to a wedding
29	226	Biling T4:	oh what a lovely purse you've got Gemma. Are you going out? No?
30	232		P
31		Ishtiaq:	(humming/murmuring to himself)
32	246	Biling T4:	P
33			☞(to adult) he's talking to me now, Linda shall I try?
34			P Muthaza, Muthaza
35	253	Child:	... sign the papers
36	279-350		P

359-420	Activity 5	Painting (Domain 9) Sustained Behaviour 15 minutes
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37		T1:	you're all going to paint
38		Ishtiaq:	yea
39		T1:	you need one of these, Ishtiaq and Shazia
40	361	T1:	That's right, Shazia watch me, watch. Ishtiaq, there's water in here,
41			Ishtiaq water in here
42		Ishtiaq:	Yea
43		T1:	and then the paint
44		Ishtiaq:	Yea
45		T1:	and then put the paint in there
46		Ishtiaq:	Yea
47		T1:	and then you can paint with it on your paper.
48		Ishtiaq:	numm

49 T1: You can show me what to do. Take a brush, and then some water for
50 it, and then some paint, and into your palette, that's it. Ishtiaq when
51 you want to use another colour, wash your brush in the water. Wash
52 your brush in the water. Wash it really well. The choose another
53 colour.

54 370 T2: (to T1) I'm going to have ...
55 T1: Put it in here again. That's right.

56 Mushtifaq: yea
57 T1: Red, that's bright red, red.

58 Ishtiaq: Red
59 371 T1: What colour have you painted, Ishtiaq? What colour's this?
60 Ishtiaq: Red
61 T1: Red mmm now wipe your brush. I think it needs to be washed a little
62 bit more than that it's still ...I'd put it back in the water or it will make
63 your paints dirty. That's better. No, not straight onto your paper ...
64 now onto the paper, mmm. Shazia what colour are you going to choose
65 now?
66 381 what do you like? Start again or ... it's a lovely colour isn't it?
67 Ishtiaq: P yalo
68 T1: Like the sunshine

69 385 T1: That's pale pink there Ishtiaq and darker pink. The only thing that
70 attract the sun is red.
71 T2: (to another child) Who brought you today? I've never seen your daddy
72 before. Is that Daddy? Bigger children at home
73 T1: quite big isn't she? Andrew was big as well (reference to an older
74 brother).

75 Ishtiaq: you can do
76 T1: What's that for Ishtiaq? You've got an apron, haven't you? Come over
77 here, come over here, Mushtifaq.

78 392 T1: Here we go. I don't think you'll reach the paint if you don't. Come,
79 come around here. Come around here. Look, ... don't very well any
80 way, into the water. Is there any paint on your paper? It's a lovely
81 colour. It's a lovely red.

82 359 T2: Come and see what's going on here. Look at this. What lovely colours.
83 399 T1: The little ones can't reach very well there. It's too far for them. You
84 could ... Oh look at that beautiful green you've got. Let me see that
85 green.
86 T2: I can't make a good green. It's not the best green is it?

87 YTS Trainee: Put the blue and the yellow
88 T1: in the palette
89 T2: are you any good at green.

90 YTS Trainee: Then you get green
91 T2: Crying for a long time ... you're trying to put too much on.
92 T1: that's a beautiful green.
93 T2: you've got lots Amy.
94 T1: the problem is how can you

95 Child's voice: Mrs. Fox, ah come on
96 T1: what's the matter, mmm
97 Child: Come on

98 405 T2: wants to go outside
99 T1: (to child) Go and see Linda. (to T2) taken over from ...it's the other,
100 isn't it, trying to get rid of ... when you've got a space, could you ...
101 the paints? I'll try and get this one and this one. (To children) Come on
102 out. Listen.

103 372 T1: you wouldn't paint.
104 Ishtiaq: Yellow ... blue
105 T1: lovely bright colours, you're going to have to do another, ... little
106 people
107 Ishtiaq: Yellow, yellow, yellow
108 T1: beautiful purple
109 Shazia: mummy

110 T1: Is that your mummy?
 111 Shazia: yea
 112 T1: use the water first, then you do it one at a time
 113 Shazia: P
 114 ☹bye, bye (to T1 and children)
 115 T1: then into the palette, then on to your paper
 116 Ishtiaq: P yalo
 117 T1: what have you got there? umm, oh dear, have a look, oh dear
 118 Christopher, look what's on, what a beautiful painting, lovely pink
 119 Christopher: blue and green
 120 Ishtiaq: blue
 121 T1: what colour's that?
 122 Christopher: brown
 123 Ishtiaq: brown
 124 T1: it's a beautiful green, it's very dark isn't it? Your's is dark ... yes there
 125 were, just a minute, is she actually finished this painting?
 126 T1: (to Rabila) have you finished this painting? Do you want to do another
 127 one? Would you like a piece of paper?
 128 Melanie: I want to do one.
 129 T1: Melanie, wait till one of them's finished
 130 418 T2: don't know who this belongs to (holding a lunch box), it says my little
 131 princess,
 132 T1: I don't know whose it is.
 133 T2: (to all the children) whose bag is this?
 134 Ishtiaq: P yallo (look)
 135 T1: there's lots of yellow, lovely yellow, lucky yellow.
 136 Mushtifaq: P (look)
 137 T1: you've got some yellow there as well, haven't you? (to Rabila) You've
 138 got stripes on yours, haven't you?
 139 Circle isn't it, go round
 140 Ishtiaq: P (look)
 141 T1: um
 142 Ishtiaq: red
 143 T1: red? if you do that you're going to make all the paints dirty, you need
 144 to go and wash this. Go and wash it and then come back and do some
 145 more, there's enough of this green to mix some other paints in. Go and
 146 wash it Do you want to wash yours, Shazia? Then go and get cleaner
 147 cut paint. Put your brush down. Come with me. Come with, lie it
 148 down Melanie, bring your palette with you, bring your palette, come
 149 over here and wash it.

430-448 Activity 6

Washbasins (Domain 15)
Related Behaviour

150 T1: wash these colours out and then you'll be able to make some more
 151 colours, you see, make the palette clean. Where's Paul?
 152 Melanie: I don't know, he's here somewhere.
 153 T1: (to Melanie) there you are, yours are clean,. (to Shazia) Is yours clean,
 154 Shazia? No, look, get it as clean as that, look, just put your fingers in.
 155 448 T1: he has hasn't he, there's paint all over, beautiful colours there,
 156 beautiful colours, there's orange there, beautiful. (to Ishtiaq who is
 157 crying) what's the matter?
 158 Ishtiaq: (crying) ////
 159 T1: you say which you want to use, there's no point in crying.
 160 Ishtiaq: sorry
 161 T1: go out that way with Mrs Fox.

500-900 Activity 7

Outside Play Area (Domain 8)
Sustained Behaviour 38 minutes

162 T2: go on, go round and round and round, that's right you push Jane, come
 163 on, I know you, sorry move away. Wait for your mum, come on ,
 164 come and see, oh clever boy, oh, you've got a jump board. Not on
 165 your own, with those two.
 166 Child: where's ...
 167 T2: go and play. I built this this morning and I'm not going to do this
 168 again. Do it.
 169 Are you going on it?
 170 Child: (singing)
 171 Ishtiaq: brumm, brumm
 172 T2: Katherine
 173 888 Ishtiaq: oh, oh, oh
 174 Child: catch me
 175 T2: Mrs Fox has been on all the things, going that way
 176 Ishtiaq: that my brother
 177 P
 178 T2: there you see
 179 Child: choo, choo, choo
 180 907 P
 181 T2: put it back
 182 913 hello, hello, hello
 183 P
 184 (child singing)
 185 T2: no you come back

TAPE ENDS 920

130-377 Activity 1 Book Corner (Domain 6)
Sustained Behaviour 11 minutes

1 Kamran: P
2 ? : I don't know why
3 T3: Half an hour watch
4 in your nursery, the other nursery, you had a book and it showed you
5 what to do
6 miss can you open this for us? (child crying in background)
7 Kamran: P
8 P
9 P
10 Kamran: P
11 191 Kamran: ☞ teacher
12 P
13 Imran: P
14 Kamran: P
15 Kamran: P
16 Imran: P
17 Kamran: P
18 Imran: P
19 216 (sound of musical instruments)
20 T3: in a minute, in a minute, right? I'm going to get one for Imran now
21 Kamran: he still got his
22 T3: I'm going to get one for Imran, that'll be good, won't it?
23 Kamran: I'm still ...
24 T3: I hope you're not playing with a gun, we don't have guns, go and put
25 it back
26 Kamran: ... guns just putting it in a car
27 T3: oh
28 Kamran: just boring
29 T5: I think it looks very smart on you, I like the pear, I like pears, do you
30 eat pears? What fruits do you like? (sound of musical instruments)
31 Kamran: apples, green apples and red apples
32 T5: very nice, I like strawberries as well
33 T3: you've got one now, you've had too much dinner
34 Kamran: he has a ...
35 T3: E ...
36 Kamran: if you don't give it me, ... I'll
37 244 T3: come on you play as well, come on Kamran, all play together, what
38 are you doing Goeffrey?
39 Kamran: P
40 252 Biling T4: over here, on there ... good boy, right now the ...
41 (Reading a story) Nicky's Noisy Night, Tom says mama, Nicky says, I
42 can't sleep because it is too noisy, something is blowing, what are you
43 doing, when we open the curtains, lift up the cloth
44 Kamran: the flowers are blowing
45 Biling T4: oh, tap, tap, tap, tap
46 Kamran: flowers
47 Biling T4: someone is, someone is nibbling, who is it?
48 Kamran: not in here
49 Biling T4: not in here, let's have a look in the other cupboard
50 Kamran: (excited noise) ...
51 Biling T4: it's a mouse
52 Kamran: mouse
53 Biling T4: which mouse, something is banging}, what is it?
54 Kamran: something is banging}
55 Imran: crash, bang
56 Kamran: bang in there, is ... the... mouse is here
57 Biling T4: right, do you want to read it?

58 Kamran: yes
 59 Biling T4: right, now, ... I ... something is dripping what is it?
 60 Kamran: water
 61 Biling T4: drip, drip, it's in the bathroom and it's a water
 62 Kamran: I know
 63 Biling T4: someone is calling, who is it?
 64 Kamran: cock a doo
 65 Biling T4: no a cockerels do that, toot-twoo, that's an owl
 66 Kamran: toot-twoo
 67 Biling T4: that's an owl
 68 Kamran: owl ...
 69 ☞ P
 70 Biling T4: owl
 71 Kamran: ☞ P owl
 72 Biling T4: someone is singing, who is it?
 73 Child?: ...
 74 Kamran: cuckoo (making noise like a cuckoo)
 75 Biling T4: and this one
 76 Kamran: tick tock, tick tock, tick tock
 77 Biling T4: something is running, who is it?
 78 Kamran: ...
 79 Biling T4: oh a dog's chasing a
 80 Kamran: pussy cat
 81 Biling T4: dog's going woof woof and the cat's going meoow (making animal
 82 noises)
 83 Mama tell every one to be quiet, Mama whispers stay quiet house, stay
 84 quiet mouse, stay quiet dog, stay quiet cat, stay quiet house, and be
 85 quiet nicky, good night
 86 Kamran: read this now, all about the dinosaurs
 87 Biling T4: right
 88 Kamran: have you got a strong baby here
 89 Biling T4:
 90 Kamran: have you got book ... a big strong baby, strong baby
 91 Biling T4: the advocado baby, the strong baby who eats all the naughty children,
 92 the
 93 Kamran: yea
 94 Biling T4: The Advocado Baby, right
 95 Kamran: yea
 96 Biling T4: let's have a look
 97 Kamran: look for it there
 98 Biling T4: ah this one's a good story, I'll always love you
 99 Kamran: can we
 100 Biling T4: this is a story about Elsie the best dog in the whole world, (cough)
 101 what are you doing now, Clare, it's Clare's bithday and the doggie's,
 102 we grew up together but Elsie grew much faster than I did, I loved
 103 resting my head on her warm coat
 104 Kamran: when's that
 105 Biling T4: this was when he was small and this was when Elsie was small as well
 106 Kamran: who?
 107 Imran: Elsie
 108 Biling T4: was small, look, look they've grown there, when they were little, ...
 109 here was a little boy and the dog were a little puppy then
 110 Kamran: little puppy
 111 Biling T4: my brother and sister loved Elsie very much but she my dog, oh what,
 112 every day Elsie and I played together, Elsie to chase squirrels, she dig
 113 in my mother's flower garden, sometimes my family would get very
 114 angry with Elsie when she got into mischief, but they still loved her,
 115 even when she scolded her, even
 116 Kamran: what's that
 117 Biling T4: oh, look, the ..top of the table, when meat was on the plate
 118 Kamran: what that

119 Biling T4: that is the meat, and when she did lift the meat up out of the plate and
 120 the plate fell right down and broke
 121 Kamran: ...
 122 Biling T4: a broken plate, all the pieces off the broken plate, the trouble was they
 123 never told her they thought Elsie knew, that they loved her, the young
 124 ... and while I was growing taller and taller, Elsie was growing sm
 125 (laugh) rounder and rounder, can you see?
 126 Kamran: eh
 127 Biling T4: rounder and rounder
 128 Child?: ...
 129 Biling T4: the older Elsie got, the more she slept, and the less she walked, she
 130 liked to walk, I was getting worried, can you see? look, look, but first
 131 of all
 132 Child?: ...
 133 Biling T4: she was, she was, a little puppy, there was a little puppy and then it
 134 grew up into a big dog, there, then suddenly, suddenly, she starts to
 135 get fatter and fatter, and fatter, see, so, she got lazier and lazier, it
 136 didn't, didn't st ..., didn't like walking, so he slept and slept and slept
 137 ... fatter and fatter
 138 Kamran: I ... all afternoon
 139 Biling T4: yea
 140 Kamran: all afternoon asleep to stay
 141 Biling T4: mm
 142 Kamran: P
 143 Biling T4: P
 144 Kamran: P
 145 Biling T4: P
 146 P (laughter)
 147 Kamran: P
 148 323 Biling T4: P
 149 ok let's finish this story then you won't get bored
 150 we took Elsie to the vets but there wasn't much he could do
 151 Biling T?: he's growing ... she said
 152 Kamran: when I, when I, when I stand up then I'll be big boy ... when I sit
 153 down I'll be small
 154 Biling T?: boring
 155 Biling T4: it is boring isn't it
 156 Biling T?: yea
 157 Kamran: yea
 158 Biling T?: what can we do to stop this boy
 159 Biling T4: oh, that's nice, it's lovely
 160 Kamran: P
 161 Biling T4: P
 162 Biling T?: P
 163 Biling T4: P
 164 what can we do to stop you from getting bored?
 165 Kamran: P
 166 Biling T4: shall we read another nice story?
 167 Kamran: yea
 168 Biling T4: can you find that Advocado Baby?
 169 Kamran: yea
 170 Biling T4: right, come on, make sure you've got that other book Pauline, it might
 171 be on there, The Advocado Baby, that's a good book ...book, Peepo
 172 Kamran: P
 173 Biling T4: oh bonfires, did you go round the bonfire party?
 174 Kamran: P
 175 Imran: we've already got some scrap at home
 176 Biling T4: P
 177 Kamran: and we don't want to ... no more
 178 Biling T?: P
 179 Biling T4: P

180 Kamran: yea
 181 Biling T7: P
 182 Kamran: P
 183 Biling T4: Funny Bones
 184 Kamran: yea
 185 Kamran: P
 186 Biling T4: P (rhyme)
 187 Kamran: P (rhyme)
 188 Biling T4: P (rhyme)
 189 Kamran: P
 190 Biling T4: P
 191 Kamran: P
 192 P
 193 Imran: P
 194 Kamran: P
 195 Imran: and that's a cat, cat
 196 Kamran: can see now, .. it's there
 197 Biling T4: ///
 198 Kamran: ... (as if reading) look, look, look, look, ... no, no, no
 199 P
 200 Biling T4: oh yes ...
 201 P
 202 Kamran: there
 203 Biling T7: I'm coming to get you, I'll ... that one
 204 Kamran: ... boy
 205 Biling T4: ... that little boy's, come on
 206 Kamran: P
 207 stop this boring
 208 Biling T4: ... boring,
 209 Kamran: P
 210 Imran: no, no
 211 Biling T4: and the papers, on the pieces of paper, ... that little boy Kamran,
 212 Biling T7: it's a very common name
 213 Kamran: P
 214 Kamran: this is boring with my hands ... down

377-	Activity 2	Corridor (Domain 8) Related Behaviour for 2 minutes
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215 T2: here, who's that doing stories?
 216 T2: Kamran, is that Kamran?
 217 Biling T4: yes
 218 T2: Kamran you've forgotten to take your snowman book home, Kamran
 219 Kamran: what
 220 T2: you've forgotten to take your snowman book home,
 221 Kamran: yes, I said to my mom, mom I've missed my snowman book at
 222 nursery, that's what I said
 223 T2: it's on the side still, on the side, when you go home, so you won't
 224 forget, put in the bag
 225 Biling T4: Kamran, look
 226 Kamran: what
 227 Biling T4: you go read your story over there, w ... reading book ...

Activity 3	Home Corner (Domain 5) Sustained Behaviour 7 mins
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228 Kamran: ...it here
 229 Biling T4: P
 230 Kamran: P
 231 auntie
 232 Biling T4: P

233 Kamran: P
 234 Biling T4: I think, I think, I think she thought
 235 Kamran: ...
 236 Biling T4: right, now, come on then, let me read you the story of Advocado
 237 Baby, it's about this baby who's very, very, very strong
 238 Kamran: very, very
 239 Imran: ...
 240 Biling T4: Mr and Mrs Hargreaves and their four children, are not very strong,
 241 Mrs Hargreaves was expecting another baby and they all hoped it
 242 would not be as weak as they were
 243 Kamran: the baby will be strong baby
 244 Biling T4: yes, so where did they get the baby from?
 245 Kamran: hospital
 246 Biling T4: you said you were going to get one
 247 Kamran: mam said not
 248 Biling T4: the hospital alright
 249 Kamran: my mom ... my mom ... my mom not hospital yet
 250 Imran: no
 251 Kamran: only my grandma's at hospital
 252 Biling T4: ... going to bring the baby
 253 Kamran: yea
 254 Biling T4: is your grandma going to bring the baby?
 255 Kamran: yea
 256 Imran: ...
 257 Kamran: on your own
 258 Biling T4: all her own
 259 Kamran: yea
 260 Imran: ...
 261 Kamran: you put a baby, if she talks, if she talks
 262 Imran: I will
 263 Biling T4: right, now, from then, Mr and Mrs Hargreaves goes, go to the
 264 hospital, and Mrs Hargreaves has a baby boy, this baby boy is
 265 Kamran: I've got a baby boy, I know what his name
 266 Biling T4: everybody bes happy, but this lovely baby boy just won't eat anything,
 267 he won't eat when mom gives him something, he won't eat when dad
 268 gives him something, mom gives him milk, he won't drink that, mom
 269 gives him
 270 Imran: ...
 271 Biling T4: mom give him cheese and he just won't have that, mammy starts to
 272 cry, he won't have anything, I'm so worried about him, then the
 273 children go, I know, why don't you give him (pause) a mango
 274 Kamran: P ☞ mango
 275 Biling T4: so mammy gets a mango, she cuts it up, and gaved him, gived it to the
 276 baby,
 277 Child?: P
 278 Biling T4: suddenly the baby gets stronger and stronger and stronger, and look, he
 279 can break his himself, he can push all the kids down the ... down the
 280 hill, he can open his cot, and come out of the cot, and one night,
 281 Kamran: P
 282 Biling T4: and there's a burglar
 283 Child?: P
 284 Biling T4: come in the house
 285 Kamran: in the door
 286 Biling T4: there's bang, bang, bang, tap, tap, tap and there was a burglar
 287 Child?: P
 288 Biling T4: come in their house
 289 Kamran: in the door

290 Biling T4: door come into their house, oh, so the little baby gets so mad, that he
 291 comes out of the cot, and he gets everything, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, hits
 292 the... and ... goes running, and running and running away, and gets
 293 him scared, so, and then the baby ... helps his mom with is shopping,
 294 he brings the piano down, he pushes the car when it doesn't start, one
 295 day his big brother ... takes him to the park, and these big bullies are
 296 there, so the b... bullies go, ha, ha, ha, ha,
 297 Kamran: P
 298 Biling T4: and suddenly they started hitting the little baby's big brother and sister,
 299 they picked this ... him, the baby got really mad, that he came out of
 300 his pushchair, he grabbed hold of the two bullies, and threw them
 301 round and r and he shoot them in the pond, oh, oh, look
 302 Kamran: yes
 303 Biling T4: and then, the baby gets stronger and stronger every day and of course,
 304 he is still eating his mangoes. see
 305 Kamran: P
 306 Biling T4: are you strong
 307 Kamran: no
 308 Biling T4: are you strong, Imran
 309 Kamran: Imran he's not my friend
 310 Biling T4: Imran
 311 Child? he's ... with his girlfriend
 312 Biling T4: Imran
 313 425 Child? and you said he's not my friend, I said he's my friend
 314 Kamran: I didn't say he's not my friend, he's my friend
 315 Biling T4: you did say that he's not my friend, that's what you would have said
 316 Kamran: I'm still boiling
 317 why don't I take this jacket off for a while
 318 Biling T4: well Imran's got one on
 319 Kamran: he's not boiling, I'm boiling, why don't I, for I put it back on, if I put
 320 my sleeves up, then I ... I'll be n n no boi ...boiling, but I'm boiling, I
 321 feel cold
 322 Biling T4: feel cold, then keep your jacket on then, it'll keep you warm
 323 Kamran: look.
 324 ah
 325 Biling T4: now Kamran, let's go and see if we can find something nice,
 326 interesting what we can do, come on then
 327 Kamran: I've got a good idea to do
 328 Biling T4: what
 329 Kamran: to ...to draw a picture
 330 Biling T4: over there
 331 Kamran: for you
 332 Biling T4: ... come and draw a picture for me then

440-607	Activity 4	Drawing Table (Domain 24) Sustained Behaviour 25 minutes
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333 Kamran: P
 334 I'm, gonna make that
 335 : make a calendar
 336 Kamran: yea
 337 : right
 338 T: ...
 339 Kamran: I know it is it ... for people ...
 340 Pakistani people,
 341 Pakistan
 342 T: right
 343 Kamran: it is
 344 Kamran: P
 345 Imran: P
 346 Kamran: P

347 Biling T4: it didn't come from Pakistan
 348 Kamran: eh
 349 Biling T4: cos I brought that
 350 Kamran: ...
 351 Biling T4: I brought that into your nursery
 352 Kamran: why
 353 Imran: P
 354 Biling T4: paid your 20p?
 355 Kamran: P
 356 Linda, can I take my jacket off?
 357 T5: not yet, not before you go home
 358 Kamran: ...
 359 Biling T4: ...
 360 Kamran: I'm just going to, I'm just going to, Linda, I'm just going to draw a
 361 picture
 362 T5: what of?
 363 Imran: don't know
 364 Kamran: I know
 365 Kamran: P
 366 Imran: P
 367 Kamran: P
 368 Imran: P
 369 Kamran: draw a picture
 370 Imran: yea
 371 Kamran: I'm not going to ... for long though
 372 Imran: P
 373 Kamran: P
 374 Imran: what's that. that. that
 375 Kamran: bigger and smaller, look what I do, that's a ... look what it is,
 376 Imran: ...
 377 Kamran: know what that is
 378 Imran:
 379 Imran: now what shall I do
 380 Girl: crayons, I ... a picture, I made a picture with crayons
 381 Kamran: P
 382 Look, this what colour I've put, look what colour I've done it in
 383 silence
 384 Kamran: P
 385 Imran: P
 386 Biling T4: P
 387 Kamran: P
 388 Imran: P
 389 Kamran: can draw a apple like I have
 390 Biling T4: an apple
 391 Kamran: ...
 392 Biling T4: go round then draw it in, you can draw a balloon can't you,
 393 Kamran: no I can
 394 Biling T4: you can, you can draw a balloon
 395 Kamran: miss they won't let me play in there
 396 Biling T4: Geoffrey come over here, come here, ... you've get a lovely jogging
 397 suit, to keep your belly warm does it,
 398 Imran: P
 399 Child: P
 400 (classroom noise)
 401 Biling T4: that's nice, what is it,
 402 Kamran: ...
 403 Biling T4: it's a what,
 404 Kamran: yea
 405 Biling T4: it's a car,
 406 Kamran: yea
 407 Biling T4: it was ... full

408 Kamran: it's a
 409 Biling T4: jam for me
 410 Kamran: yea
 411 Biling T4: well do you know what I like, I like marmalade.
 412 Kamran: ...
 413 Biling T4: I like lemon curd
 414 Imran: (imitates intonation of lemon curd)
 415 Kamran: .. draw something else
 416 Imran:
 417 Azia: P
 418 Kamran: P
 419 512 Biling T4: no Kamran
 420 Kamran: have you got a pen
 421 Biling T4: yea, we're going to write, put the red top on,
 422 Kamran: red
 423 Biling T4: her name's Linda as well, and she would like you to keep that jacket
 424 on,
 425 Kamran: if I ...if I ...
 426 Biling T4: .. now, Imran
 427 P
 428 Kamran: from the back
 429 525-554 (inaudible conversation with Biling T4)
 430 Biling T4: you go over it in red, you know what colour red is,
 431 Kamran: yea, red
 432 Biling T4: let's try this colour
 433 Kamran: this colour, it's boring, yea, go round, round
 434 Imran: round, like that
 435 Kamran: mm
 436 Biling T4: like that, there
 437 Imran: Kamran
 438 Biling T4: Kamran write now, let's see if you can write Kamran, right
 439 Kamran: what
 440 Biling T4: you can write Kamran like that, .. you go over this
 441 Kamran: shall I go over this, that's enough, that's it
 442 568 (sound of musical instruments)
 443 Kamran: P
 444 I'm doing ... I'm doing with the chalk
 445 Imran: doing with the chalk
 446 Kamran: doing with the red paint on
 447 Biling T4: have you gone over this
 448 Kamran: yea
 449 Biling T4: and around this, and around this
 450 Kamran: P
 451 Biling T4: P
 452 Kamran: go over this
 453 Imran: P
 454 Biling T4: and now do Imran
 455 Azia: Imran, Imran P
 456 581 (sound of musical instruments)
 457 Kamran: make a, make a, I'm make a cookie
 458 Biling T4: a what
 459 Kamran: what else are you going to do, I bring the ... here, and this morning,
 460 my brother, and I didn't had a bubbly, and my brother says, (imitates
 461 brother), give me a bubbly, and I said I haven't got a bubbly
 462 Biling T4: your brother Imran is very quiet isn't he,
 463 Azia: this morning, he's crying downstairs and he cry upstairs
 464 Biling T4: Imran crying upstairs, why
 465 Azia: P
 466 Biling T4: P
 467 Kamran: P
 468 Biling T4: P

469 Kamran: I'm gonna draw a truck
470 Biling T4: draw it in a crayon
 (silence)

TAPE ENDS 607

Children's Cloakroom (Domain 1)

Arrives at school with mother,
mother leaves, Rabila begins to cry

09-140 Activity 1 Visit to main school building with Teacher
Sustained Behaviour 20 mins

1 Rabila: (crying)
2 T1: (to some boys) you shouldn't really be running in here at all should
3 you? You should walk. There you are. I don't know what we should
4 need that for.
5 T1: come on let's go for a walk and see what we can see. Let's see what we
6 can see. There's Mrs Fox (T2)
7 T1: (to T2) oh you do look pretty
8 T1: (to Rabila) look at Mrs Fox all dressed up
9 T1: I'm just going over to the mobile to see Sylvia for a minute and we're
10 going to take somebody up there. You know mummy brought her. She
11 didn't like when we were talking
12 Rabila: crying
13 T1: have you got the, ...
14 Rabila: crying no, no, no
15 T1: come on let's go and see
16 Rabila: crying (quieter)
17 T1: we'll go to the big school, we'll go for a walk, we'll go across the
18 grass because that's the quick way, perhaps out to play later
19 Rabila: mmm
20 T1: can you hear what's she's doing? I wonder if she's painting? (Talking
21 about Rabila's older cousin who is in the school), and lots of posters,
22 can you hear the car? look at the dandelions, look and look, there's a
23 toadstool
24 Rabila: mmm
25 T1: you hold my hand there's a good girl, (footsteps) big boys and girls go
26 to the school up there, there's the playground
27 52 T1: (in the classroom) your classroom
28 T8: are you sure you haven't done any Julie
29 Julie: no, I haven't done any
30 T1: are you sure, are you sure you helped with one of them? Didn't you
31 help, now sit down everyone now we're going to hear who has been
32 asked to do it
33 Children in ///
34 class:
35 T8: no, I can only take five at a time
36 T1: well, yes
37 T8: well get one from the end
38 T1: one, one,
39 T8: no but I would like them, very good, show me down and wipe your
40 brolly
41 Children in thank you, bye
42 class:
43 110 (T1 and Rabila leave the class, background noise of the classroom)
44 (Rabila stops crying as they walk back to the nursery)
45 T1: now what are we going to do? It's a big frog, it's as big as you, mmm,
46 now, he's nearly as big as you, he is. Did you see your sister? Did you
47 see your sister? mmm I wonder what she's going to do. Are you going
48 out to play? Are you staying inside? What are you going to do? In we
49 go.
50 (Back in the nursery)
51 ?: lovely

151-237	Activity 2	At the Washbasins (Domain 15) Functional Behaviour
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52	154	Rabila:	P
53	162	T1:	bring it back
54	165	T1:	Do you speak Panjabi well? Who speaks Panjabi?
55		Pupils:	yea
56		T1:	good because we just might need some help
57	173	Christopher:	hey, hey have another look in your drawer
58	190	Rabila:	(playing alone, less upset now)
59		T1:	what are you going to play with mmm?
60		Rabila:	mmm
61		T1:	what's that, what is it... tractor.
62			(sounds of knocking, banging, playing)
63		Philip:	hello
64		T1:	do you think that junior girl would be able to do some of these because you're going to have to go aren't you?
65			
66	218	Rabila:	(sounds upset but not crying) P
67	220	Biling T4:	P
68		T1:	(aside to T6) it's amazing what an advantage it is to speak.... bilingual,
69			that's the difference between two and a half days per week, you see.
70			Last September, a year ago, was the first time we had a full-time one,
71			we only had two half days a week before that
72	227	T1:	mmm that was blue, now I've found the red (intonation), I've got blue
73			paint on my hands
74		T1 & Rabila:	mmm
75		T1:	do you like that blue? Do you? Now would you like another red?
76		Rabila:	(echoes) a red
77		T1:	let's have a look
78		All children:	red
79		Rabila:	(echoes) ra, ra
80	231	Rabila:	(singing) red
81		Christopher:	I need a red one
82		T1:	that's red, yes
83		Rabila:	(echoes) red
84		Christopher:	need red
85		Melanie:	that's red, no that's black, the rest is black, no, no, black

237-450	Activity 3	Painting (Domain 9) Sustained Behaviour 20 mins
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86	237	Rabila:	P (laughing)
87			☺ round and round
88		T2:	that's familiar
89		T1:	I've found some yellow ones
90		Rabila:	round and round
91		T1:	I've found some yellow ones, that's all
92		T2:	it's not the yellow ones, it's the white ones you wanted, where's the
93			white one
94		Rabila:	(echoes) white one
95	243-250	Rabila:	(mimics talk)
96	252	Rabila:	ba ba
97	255	Children:	P
98	267	T1:	Ishtiaq it's your turn, put your brush in the water, now in the paint,
99			put the ... in the water, you show me what to do
100		T1:	put it in the water
101		Christopher:	what?
102		T1:	You show me what to do, put the brush back in the water, then put it
103			in the colour
104		Ishtiaq:	yea

105 T1: put the paint, put the paint on the paper, you show me what to do
 106 Ishtiaq: yea
 107 T1: you need some water
 108 Ishtiaq: yea
 109 T1: put it back in the water, that's better, no not splashing people, on the
 110 paper
 111 T2: Hello Rabila, who brought you today? I have never seen your daddy
 112 Shazia: this morning
 113 T1: what's that for, here we are, come round here, it's a lovely colour, it's
 114 a lovely red, let's see what's going on here, look at this, lovely
 115 colours, oh look at that blue, green
 116 T2: I can't make green
 117 Ishtiaq: P (look)
 118 T1: Ishtiaq ...
 119 Ishtiaq: P (look)
 120 Shazia: that my mummy
 121 T1: is that your mummy
 122 Shazia: yea
 123 T1: into the water first, then into one of the colours, which one do you
 124 want to use?
 125 Shazia: em that one
 126 T1: tell me the name, what's it called?
 127 Shazia: silence
 128 T1: choose your colour, put it on the palette, then onto your poster, there
 129 you do it, I'll go and wash my hands and I'll put ... (voice fades away)
 130 Shazia: mammy
 131 T1: what are you doing, let's have a look, very good, you've got lovely
 132 pink there, let's all have a look, blue and green, black, dark
 133 Child: miss
 134 T1: just a minute
 135 (to Rabila) have you finished this painting? Do you want to do another
 136 one?
 137 Melanie: I want to do one
 138 T1: wait till one of them's finished
 139 T2: don't know who that belongs to, it says my pretty princess, I don't
 140 know whose it is, I don't think
 141 T1: go and see if Linda knows who it belongs to, she's outside
 142 Ishtiaq: P Yallo (look)
 143 T1: you've got some yellow, there's a lot of yellow, lots of yellow
 144 Mushtifaq: P Yallo (look)
 145 T1: if you do that you're going to make all the pinks dirty, go and wipe it
 146 then come back and do some more, have you wiped your stuff yet?
 147 There you are, beautiful colours, there's orange there, beautiful.

450-460	Activity 4	Outside Play Area (Domain 8) Related Behaviour
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148 T1: What's the matter?
 149 Child ?: (passing) bye, bye
 150 T1: goodbye, bye
 151 T1: you what? You say sorry to Gemma
 152 Gemma: (upset) hurting on the head
 153 T1: why did you do it? What was the matter?
 154 Will you be friends now, go no be friends, mind the shoes, have you
 155 got all your plasters on Gemma or have they come off, let's go and
 156 look at this house
 157 Gemma: why?

460-543	Activity 5	Home Corner (Domain 5) Related Behaviour
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158 T1: Oh Christopher, what have you done? If you use these pieces of card,
 159 they'll fall and hurt somebody, that's why we've put these pieces of
 160 card up this morning, they're very good these, look I'll show you ...
 161 fall and hurt your head, very, that's soft, it is soft and nice and light on
 162 your head, it doesn't hurt so much if it falls on your head it would, see
 163 Christopher: mm
 164 T1: you wanted that one did you? yes, I'll watch you, I'll watch you, you
 165 can use them but don't put them so high, they'll fall on your head,
 166 they'll hurt you
 167 Christopher: no they won't
 168 T1: alright we'll take this one off then
 169 Christopher: hey, hey
 170 Biling T4: hello, where's your friend?
 171 (to Rabila) P
 172 T1: she's got an appointment, what's the matter?
 173 Christopher: watch
 174 T1: I'm watching, mmm, mmm
 175 Biling T4: but that's the cooking book we've got
 176 Christopher: (playing sounds) br br brmm br
 177 Biling T4: who taught you to do up your shoes Rabila, can you do up your shoes,
 178 can you do these up? Can you, can you?
 179 Rabila: yes
 180 Biling T4: (to Rabila) where are you going to go in an aeroplane? Where are you
 181 going?
 182 Christopher: I'm going to Redcar
 183 Biling T4: Redcar, no
 184 (to Rabila) where are you going? Redcar
 185 Rabila: mmm
 186 Christopher: we're going in the car
 187 Biling T4: oh I thought you had an aeroplane
 188 Christopher: in a car br br brrrrrrrrroooooommm
 189 Rabila: my house
 190 Biling T4: whose house? Come on let's see what other people are doing

543-601	Activity 6	Painting Table (Domain 9) Related Behaviour for 15 minutes
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191 Christopher: ten pence, I'm coming
 192 T1: water, paints, little box, paints in here and you mix it round, then you
 193 take it out, can you remember how to do it? Into the water
 194 Christopher: I'm coming
 195 T1: into the water, into the colour, into the palette and then on to the
 196 paper,
 197 Melanie, what, into the paint, some more paper, you don't want some,
 198 keep it until the brown you want, that was red, blue and yellow, come
 199 on, you've got pink in your hair, are you going to use another colour
 200 Melanie?
 201 Sabia: this one blue
 202 Melanie: I want some more paper
 203 Christopher: Gary, Gary, Gary

TAPE ENDS 601

23-250	Activity 1	Book Corner (Domain 6) Sustained Behaviour 15 minutes
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1	23	T5: what a pretty coat
2		Biling T7: come and leave it here, is that alright like that
3	28	Sabia: P
4	30	(classroom noise)
5	38	Sumera: P
6	40	Sabia: P
7		Biling T7: do you want to take your cardigan off
8	50-87	(Sustained conversation between Sabia and Biling T7)
9		Sabia: P
10		Biling T7: P <i>eh</i>
11		Sabia: P
12		Biling T7: P
13		☞ like that one in there
14		Biling T7: P
15		Sabia: P
16		Biling T7: P
17		Sabia: P
18		Biling T7: P
19		Sabia: P
20		Biling T7: P <i>eh</i>
21		Sabia: P
22		Biling T7: P
23		Sabia: P
24		Sumera: P
25		Biling T7: P
26		Sabia: P
27	68	Sabia: P ☞ just come here, just come here I'll show you something P
28		Biling T7: P
29		Sabia: P
30		Sabia: P
31		Biling T7: P
32		Sabia: P
33		Biling T7: P
34		Sabia: P
35		Biling T7: P
36		Sabia: P
37		Biling T7: P
38		Sabia: P
39		Biling T7: P
40		Sabia: P
41		Biling T7: P
42		Child: (in background) draw a house, ... here first, we was in here first
43	90	Sabia: oh no no, Sh...telling ev... now
44		☞ P <i>gori</i>
45		Biling T7: P
46		☞ excuse me ... started hitting everybody
47		T3: }
48		Biling T7: } Kamran
49		Sofees: no
50		Biling T7: we're just asking you to read a book with them and you're saying
51		no and they don't like it
52		Sharon: no
53		T2: you don't want to read a book with ladybirds in it ...
54		Boy Child: E ...
55	101	Sabia: P <i>jakamati</i>
56		Biling T7: P <i>jakamati</i>

- 57 ☞ alright gonna sit down and read a book, are you going to read a
 58 good book
 59 Sofees: I'm spider man
 60 Sabia: P
 61 ☞ Spider man
 62 Biling T7: P
 63 Sabia: P
 64 Sumera: P *morana bori maria Shamaila*
 65 Sabia: ML (as if reading) one two bang
 66 115 (classroom noise including children arguing)
 67 Boy: he won't let me come passed
 68 Biling T7: (mimicking) he won't let you come past
 69 Biling T7: no Gary , just play together, ... now play together and be friends ok,
 70 tell you what you play the car and then we'll get another car out and
 71 see who makes a good car ok,
 72 (to another child) be careful you could fall over
 73 (to another child) you can't have a row with us, now go away now,
 74 you can't come in Kamran, you stay away from me
 75 Sabia: P
 76 Biling T7: P
 77 136-141 Sabia: (as if reading) when some c ...
 78 ☞ P
 79 ☞ shall I read it, one c...
 80 Biling T7: (aside to another child) P
 81 Sabia: one cat come
 82 ☞ P
 83 ☞ one two (continues as if reading) tat-a-tat-a-ta
 84 Biling T7: (reading with another child)
 85 144 Sabia: when two cats open the door ... out in the cupboard. ...(continues as if
 86 reading) oh no that's not fair, so when two cats, when two teddy bears
 87 ... teddy bear get it
 88 Sumera: P
 89 160-184 (continues pretend reading in Panjabi)
 90 Sabia: P
 91 168 Biling T7: (reading to another child) too tired he can't and lay down and went
 92 straight to sleep
 93 Sabia: P
 94 171 Biling T7: (reading to another child) and the dragon didn't move at all ... lifted
 95 up the dragon's ear ... and put her head right inside but the dragon
 96 didn't move at all
 97 Sabia: ML (continues to pretend to read)
 98 Biling T7: (reading to another child) she shouted as loud as she could
 99 Sabia: she went to the shop
 100 Biling T7: (reading to another child) the dragon was tired
 101 Sabia: continues with pretend reading
 102 Biling T7: (reading to another child) in out ... take a picture of you ... don't you
 103 be cheeky with me
 104 Sabia: (laughing) P
 105 188 Sabia: P
 106 Biling T7: P
 107 T2: you have to share things, I know but you
 108 192 Child: teacher, teacher
 109 Sabia: P
 110 Sumera: P Imran
 111 Biling T7: nana
 112 Sabia: P
 113 Biling T7: P
 114 Sabia: P
 115 ☞ book
 116 Biling T7: P Imran Kamran *gori*
 117 205 Sabia: P

118 Sumera: P
 119 Biling T7: P
 120 Sabia: Imran (calling) P
 121 ☞ come on play something will ya
 122 ☞ P
 123 212 Biling T7: don't want to play, do you know where he is
 124 Sabia: P Imran
 125 Biling T7: P
 126 ☞ game
 127 nobody want it
 128 P ☞ out
 129 Sabia: P
 130 Biling T7: looks like a moped
 131 ☞ P
 132 Sabia: P
 133 Biling T7: P
 134 ☞ come on
 135 Sabia: P
 136 ☞ come on be quick
 137 Sofees: P
 138 Sabia: P
 139 Sofees: where we go come on be quick
 140 Sabia: P
 141 Sumera: come now
 142 Sabia: P
 143 Biling T7: P
 144 (all laughing together)
 145 Sabia: P
 146 Biling T7: P
 147 242 Sabia: come on
 148 Sabia: P

250-280	Activity 2	Home Corner (Domain 5) Sustained Behaviour 3 minutes
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149 T3: no we're not playing hiding
 150 Sabia: playing hiding
 151 T3: no we're not playing hiding
 152 Sabia: Nasreen (Biling T7) come out, Nasreen, Nasreen, Nasreen come out
 153 ☞ P
 154 Biling T7: P
 155 253 T2: no Sabia just walk
 156 256 Biling T7: no Sofees, you go in there
 157 Sabia: delicious
 158 ☞ P Sufyaan
 159 Biling T7: P
 160 Sabia: P
 161 Biling T7: P
 162 ☞ I think, I don't know
 163 Sabia: P
 164 Biling T7: P
 165 263 Biling T7: ☞ Sufyaan
 166 Sufyaan: I'm sitting
 167 266 (sound of water nearby)
 168 267 (classroom noise)
 169 271 Sabia: P
 170 Biling T7: P
 171 Sabia: P
 172 T2: a real pain , I gathered that, it's been leading up to this, people that are
 173 playing have been quite naughty ...

174 Sabia: P
 175 278 (classroom noise)
 176 280 Yassair: (crying)

280-300	Activity 3	Washbasins (Domain 15) Related Behaviour
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177 Sabia: Yassair P
 178 283 Sabia: P
 179 T1: ... in the notebook
 180 291 Biling T7: P
 181 Sabia: P Shazia
 182 Biling T7: P
 183 Sabia: P Shazia
 184 Biling T7: P

300-344	Activity 4	Reading Books (Domain 6) Sustained Behaviour 5 minutes
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185 T1: Michael, Michael somebody's just been hurt running around being
 186 silly
 187 300 Sabia: P
 188 301 (classroom noise)
 189 303 Sabia: P
 190 Biling T7: P
 191 305 Sabia: P
 192 T1: at times this area ...
 193 Biling T7: P
 194 Sabia: P
 195 311 Biling T7: ㊦ are you going to read all them books at once
 196 Sabia: P
 197 Biling T7: P
 198 Sabia: P ㊦ grandad grandad
 199 Biling T7: ㊦ grandad
 200 313 Sufyaan: ㊦ grandpa
 201 Sabia: (as if reading) grandad grandpa grandmm...
 202 316 (classroom noise)
 203 Sufyaan: Yassair
 204 320 Sabia: (singing)
 205 322 Sabia: P
 206 Biling T7: P
 207 Sufyaan: P
 208 Sabia: P
 209 326 Sabia: shall I do round and round the garden
 210 Biling T7: yes
 211 Sabia: shall I do you round and round the garden, round and round the garden
 212 da da da (mimics rhythm but not words)
 213 Biling T7: right the next one
 214 329 (classroom noise)
 215 Biling T7: (in the background) five fat sausages frying in the pan all of a sudden
 216 one went
 217 Children: bang
 218 Biling T7: our fat sausages frying in the pan all of a sudden one went
 219 Children: bang
 220 Biling T7: three fat sausages frying in the pan all of a sudden one went
 221 Children: bang
 222 Biling T7: two fat sausages frying in the pan all of a sudden one went
 223 Children: bang
 224 Biling T7: one fat sausages frying in the pan all of a sudden there were no
 225 sausages left
 226 334 Sabia: do that again

227 P
228 Biling T7: I know
229 340 (classroom noise)
230 344 Azia: P Shazia

345-352	Activity 5	Conversation in the corridor with teacher Transient Behaviour 1 minute
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231	345		(classroom noise)
232		T2:	what has she got on her hand
233		Azia:	can I write on my hand
234	350-354	Biling T7:	Sabia
235		Sabia:	yea yea
236		Biling T7:	you are called Sabia aren't you
237		Sabia:	no
238		Biling T7:	what are you called then
239		Sabia:	Sabia
240		Sufyaan:	that was an accident, that that's somebody else's that not mine
241		Biling T7:	you shouldn't draw on your hand do you want to go to the toilet and
242			wash it off
243		Sabia:	yea
244		Biling T7:	you'll have to wash that off after

352-368	Activity 6	Washbasins (Domain 15) Related Behaviour 2 minutes
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245	352	(footsteps and classroom noise)
246	364	(sound of running water)
247	368	(footsteps)

370-445 Activity 7 Musical Instruments (Domain 23)
Sustained Behaviour 7 minutes

248	370	Sabia:	P
249			(sound of musical instruments)
250		T2:	...
251		Sabia:	...
252		T2:	no no no no cos it's falling off
253	376	Sabia:	could you do that
254		T2:	yea stand up (plays musical instruments)
255		Sabia:	could you do this, round and round the garden, Nas...
256		Biling T7:	Nasreen
257	381-		(playing glockenspiel and singing) happy birthday to you, round and
258			round
259	389		(classroom noise)
260		Sabia:	Linda why aren't you there
261		T3:	have you got yours
262		Sabia:	yea
263	394		(classroom noise)
264		T1:	Nasreen has she been with you all afternoon
265		Biling T7:	she's been wandering round
266	396		(classroom noise Panjabi in background)
267		T1:	what are you playing
268		Sabia:	///
269		Biling T7:	P
270		Sabia:	P
271	409	T2:	tea time
272	411	Sabia:	let me see, I do for you, I do this one
273		Biling T7:	that one's ok
274		Sabia:	did you go hospital, did you, why
275		Sumera:	that lady did

276 416 P
 277 Biling T7: I don't know, ask Mrs M go and ask Mrs M over there
 278 Sabia: who's that
 279 T2: Sabia on the carpet please, Michael go and dry your hands please and
 280 go on the carpet
 281 424 Sabia: P
 282 ☞ naughty
 283 T2: put your book away please
 284 Girl: you fat bum
 285 Sabia: (laughs)
 286 430 (singing to self)
 287 433 Sabia: P
 288 Biling T7: P
 289 ☞ next week
 290 Sabia: P
 291 ☞ next week
 292 Biling T7: P
 293 Sabia: P
 294 437 Child: no you can't

400-605	Activity 8	Story Time (Domain 22 & 23) Sustained Behaviour 20 minutes
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295 Child: teacher
 296 Child: I'm the teacher
 297 Imran: (repeats) I'm the teacher
 298 T2: right then sit on the carpet please
 299 Sabia: I can't see any books
 300 T2: well you'll have to go round there
 301 Sabia: P
 302 T2: get off the chair please
 303 445 Sabia: (laughing) P
 304 T2: Melanie can I have that please, I like that one
 305 T2: Shazad Shazad now this is Gary, right where shall we start
 306 ?: grandpa grandpa
 307 T2: yesterday when it was raining very hard our roof was leaking and all
 308 the rain was coming through and
 309 Child: can't we read
 310 T2: we were waiting for the workmen to come
 311 Child: do you see the leak over there
 312 T2: I do
 313 Boy: can I see
 314 T2: there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating (prompts response)
 315 Boy: milk
 316 T2: when you go home have a look on your roof I'll have a look on mine
 317 Child: I'm gonna look on mine
 318 T2: our roof leaks
 319 Child: ///
 320 T2: drip drip drip go and get the bucket that's what we had to do
 321 yesterday, Linda had to go and get the bucket to put all the bits of
 322 water in
 323 my daddy says there's a hole in
 324 Child: ///
 325 T2: Michael
 326 T3: Michael
 327 T2: my daddy says there's a hole on our roof I know why there's a hole
 328 Child: why there ...
 329 T2: there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating (prompts response)
 330 Response: cake
 331 465 ☞ P
 332 T2: he can do what he likes

333 Sabia: shower
 334 T2: drip drip drip
 335 Sabia: shower
 336 T2: our hippopotamus doesn't like baths he's having a shower I know
 337 because I heard him, there's a hippopotamus on our roof having a
 338 (prompts)
 339 Response: shower
 340 T2: a great big one
 341 Sabia: P
 342 T2: listen to this it says mummy's on a diet she eats lettuce tomato and
 343 cheese, my big brother eats peanut butter sandwiches, I eat honey
 344 sandwiches, and the hippopotamus on our cake, on our roof eats cake
 345 all the time
 346 Several inaudible
 347 children:
 348 T2: do you know what mummy said, mummy said, mummy asked about
 349 the cake she said is it a birthday cake, no, is it a chocolate cake, no, is
 350 it a special cake, yes there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating a
 351 special (prompts)
 352 Sabia and cake
 353 others:
 354 T2: yesterday I fell over and cut my knee and it hurt and there was lots of
 355 blood and at the hospital the doctor put three stitches in my knee and I
 356 cried, there she is (showing picture in book), guess what happened
 357 (prompts)
 358 Response: none
 359 T2: last night the hippopotamus told me something, he's got a sore knee
 360 too, there's a hippopotamus on our roof with a bandage on his knee,
 361 can you see, he's got a poorly knee, same leg, there's a hippopotamus
 362 on our roof watching television, he's very big and he can do what he
 363 likes, mummy won't let me watch television, after dinner and a story I
 364 have to go to bed, my hippopotamus watches I know he does, a
 365 hippopotamus on our roof (prompts)
 366 Response: (several children) television
 367 Sabia: television
 368 T2: today I was very naughty I drew on daddy's best book and daddy gave
 369 me a smack, down here no one is my friend my hippopotamus lives on
 370 the roof he's my friend I know, he isn't cross and no one smacks him
 371 he's too big, he can draw anything, there's a hippopotamus on our roof
 372 drawing with his crayons (turns the page) he wasn't there last night I
 373 know why, he told me, he went to work, my hippopotamus works part
 374 time at the zoo, zoo visitors look at the animals and at the zoo he
 375 watches people when
 376 Child: ///
 377 T2: he's not working my hippopotamus sits on the roof eating (prompts)
 378 Two cake
 379 responses:
 380 T2: (turns page) oh
 381 Child: riding a bicycle
 382 T2: there's a hippopotamus on our roof riding a (prompts)
 383 Sabia: bike
 384 Other bicycle
 385 children:
 386 Child: I've got a bike
 387 Child: I have
 388 Child: I have
 389 Child: I have
 390 T2: it says mummy won't let me ride on the road
 391 Sabia: (singing to self)

392 T2: there are cars on the road but there are no cars on the roof, he can ride
 393 any where I know he can, there's a hippopotamus on our roof riding a
 394 (prompts)
 395 Children: bike
 396 Sabia: bike
 397 Child: can't see
 398 T2: this is what we're waiting for, sit down Sabia you're too tall sit down
 399 please on your, the men fixed the roof today, bang bang bang no more
 400 drip, they didn't see my hippopotamus, he climbed down the ladder
 401 while the men had lunch, he'll be back tonight and
 402 Child: ///

403 T2: sssh there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating (prompts)
 404 Children: cake
 405 Sabia: cake
 406 Sabia: ☞ chapatty
 407 T2: I'll have a look on my roof to see if he's there
 408 Child: I have
 409 T2: have a look on yours see if he's there
 410 497 Child: I had a fish at home
 411 T2: well I ... when you go out of nursery when you go down the path have
 412 a look and see if he's up on our roof, ours is really leaking anyway,
 413 it's leaking in two places isn't it
 414 Child: yea
 415 Child: three
 416 500 T2: my goodness me I'm going to find another story, ... the time
 417 T3: well before we say I want, I want Michael and Geoffrey to go back
 418 over to the wet sand and tidy it, there's sand all over the floor
 419 Several ///

420 Children:
 421 T3: go on Michael, I know it's you two because there's sand all over you
 422 Child: I'm going
 423 T3: Tidy it properly
 424 Sabia: P
 425 509-511 Sabia: (singing to self da da, joining in with others)
 426 T2: some of you know when Santa Got Stuck up the Chimney
 427 Child: I know that
 428 Singing: When Santa got stuck up the chimney he began to shout
 429 You girls and boys won't get any toys if you don't pull me out
 430 my beard is stuck there's ... my nose is tickley too
 431 when Santa got stuck up the chimney achoo achoo achoo
 432 Child: can we sing it again
 433 T2: one more time shall we
 434 Child: yea
 435 Singing: When Santa got stuck up the chimney he began to shout
 436 You girls and boys won't get any toys if you don't pull me out
 437 my beard is stuck there's ... my nose is tickley too
 438 when Santa got stuck up the chimney achoo achoo achoo
 439 521 Child: we've had that one a lot of times
 440 T2: have we had it a lot of times
 441 Sabia: I want ... I want a diff
 442 T2: shall we have a different one then
 443 Sabia: that one
 444 T2: what one shall we have
 445 Sabia: ... the Wonder Boy
 446 525 T2: one more, right one more time and then no more, you know some of
 447 this so you'll be able to join in because you know what the little
 448 gingerbread man said, he said, he says run run as fast as you can you
 449 can't catch me I'm the (prompts)
 450 Children: gingerbread man
 451 Sabia: man

452 T2: we ate them all up didn't we, did you miss it Christopher were you
 453 poorly
 454 Children: (general noise)
 455 T2: are you ready Carol
 456 T3: I know there's a lot of them out
 457 T2: a little old man and a little old woman had a house on a farm and two
 458 children came to help on the farm, I don't think it's the same one is it
 459 Linda, the old woman said to the children I want to make you
 460 something good to eat for tea, do you want a big cake or a gingerbread
 461 man, we like ... said the children, please make a gingerbread man, the
 462 little old woman, no you can't sit down there the children want to see,
 463 makes a gingerbread man, she puts him in the oven
 464 Child: (crying)
 465 T2: and then she gets on with her work, do you remember how we made
 466 him, we put the flour in didn't we and the ginger
 467 Child: did I do it
 468 T2: I can't remember, you cut yours out didn't you and then we put the
 469 syrup and the sugar and the fat
 470 Child: did I do
 471 Child: did I
 472 T2: and mixed it, well we all made our own didn't we and we had to put
 473 currants
 474 Child: did I do it
 475 T2: what did you make for his nose, what did you put on his nose
 476 Shazad: cherry
 477 T2: a cherry we had cherries for the noses didn't we
 478 Child: yea
 479 T2: and currants
 480 (classroom noise)
 481 T2: and then we had buttons didn't we, well, then the gingerbread man is
 482 cooked and the little woman gets him out of the oven
 483 Sabia: sighs
 484 T2: what a good gingerbread man she says the children can have him for
 485 tea, (aside to a child takes toy) thank you
 486 Child: ///
 487 T2: it isn't the same on is it, the gingerbread man looks up and he says, no
 488 no they cannot and no one is having
 489 Child: ///
 490 T2: it isn't is it
 491 Child: there's two minutes to go nearly
 492 T2: it's different because the other book has it where he's jumping out of
 493 the oven, haven't we, ..
 494 Sabia: P
 495 ☞ one two down
 496 T2: stop stop said the little old woman, no I will not stop you cannot get
 497 me said the gingerbread man
 498 Child: let's see
 499 T2: and the little old man's at work and he shouts stop little gingerbread
 500 man the children want to have you for tea, no no said the gingerbread
 501 man
 502 Sabia: no no
 503 T2 and run run as fast as you can you can't catch me I'm the run run as fast
 504 Children: as you can you can't catch me I'm the
 505 T2: and he said no one will have me for tea
 506 Child: no will have
 507 T2: and the gingerbread man runs on and the children see the gingerbread
 508 man and the say stop little gingerbread man and they say we want to
 509 have you for (prompts)
 510 Response: tea
 511 T2: no said the little gingerbread man I will not stop for you, then what
 512 did he say (prompts)

513 Response: run run as fast as you can you can't catch me I'm the gingerbread man
 514 T2: then he says no one will have me for tea and he runs, (aside) Sabia
 515 come back, right back, right back come on Sabia stand up
 516 T2: the gingerbread man and he said
 517 554 Sabia: I want to home
 518 T2: stop little gingerbread man let me have you for tea
 519 Child: (to Biling T7) ☞ auntie ...
 520 T2: very little,
 521 Child: very little
 522 T2: no said the gingerbread man
 523 Response: run run as fast as you can you can't catch me I'm the gingerbread man
 524 Child: as fast as you
 525 T2: just a minute, and the old man couldn't get me, and the children can't
 526 get me and you can't get me
 527 Sabia: ...
 528 Response: run run as fast as you can you can't catch me I'm the gingerbread man
 529 T2: and cow see the gingerbread man and he says moo
 530 Response: moo
 531 T2: stop little gingerbread man I want to have you for my (prompts)
 532 Response: tea
 533 T2: no no said the gingerbread man, I will not stop for you, the old
 534 woman cannot get me, the old man cannot get me, the children cannot
 535 get me, the horse cannot get me and you can't get me, no one will have
 536 me for tea, run run as fast you
 537 Children: can
 538 Sabia: can
 539 All: you can't catch me I'm the gingerbread man and then the dog sees him
 540 and he says, what sort of noise does a dog make
 541 Response: woof woof
 542 T2: because little gingerbread man I want to have you
 543 All: for my tea
 544 T2: the gingerbread man said no, the little old woman cannot catch me, the
 545 little old man cannot catch me, the children cannot get me, the horse
 546 cannot get me, the cow cannot get me and you cannot get me, no one
 547 will have me for (prompts)
 548 Response: tea
 549 Sabia: (sounds upset)
 550 All: run run as fast as you can, you can't catch me I'm the gingerbread
 551 man, then the cat saw him, what does the cat say (prompts)
 552 Response: meow
 553 T2: gingerbread man, I want to eat you, no said the gingerbread man, little
 554 old lady, little old man, the children
 555 Sabia: (crying)
 556 T2: to the cow or the dog, no one will have me for (prompts)
 557 Child: my dinner
 558 Child: dinner
 559 Child: tea
 560 T2: run run as fast as you can you can't catch me I'm the (prompts)
 561 All: gingerbread man
 562 T2: oh what can I do said the gingerbread, there's no boat here and I can't
 563 swim
 564 Child: ///
 565 T2: wait a minute

566 T2: the cat and the dog and the cow and the horse and the children and the
567 little old man and the little old woman all want to eat me and I cannot
568 get away. the fox came back, let me help you he said, I can swim into
569 the river, into the water, with you on my tail, there will be no danger,
570 come on jump on to my tail, there he is (shows picture in book), the
571 gingerbread man thanked the fox and jumped up on his tail and away
572 they go in the water, the gingerbread man cannot keep his feet out of
573 the water, please help me my feet are in the water he says, then get on
574 my back said the fox, the gingerbread man jumped on the fox's back
575 and the fox swims on, then the gingerbread man, gingerbread man's
576 feet are getting wet in the water, please help me my feet are in the
577 water he said, then get on my head said the fox and the gingerbread
578 man thanked the fox and he jumped onto his head, and the fox swims
579 ..., and the gingerbread man, men's, man's feet are in the water again,
580 please help me my feet are in the water he said, then get on my nose
581 said the fox and the gingerbread man jumps onto the fox's nose and
582 (makes eating noise)
583 Child: that's fox
584 T2: one big gulp
585 Child: she's crying
586 T2: then there was no gingerbread man for the cat or the dog or the cow or
587 the horse or the children or the man or the little old woman and they
588 all went home again, I think she'll have to make the cake after all do
589 you
590 Child: eat it up
591 T2: when we made ours some people ate it up though, some had it at the
592 arm , some oh sorry
593 Child: I had the leg
594 Lot of other ///
595 individual
596 responses:
597 T2: you couldn't have been here it was last week
598 Child: I didn't find
599 Sabia: (makes sound)
600 T2: what shall we do, sing
601 Children: (general classroom noise)
602 589 T2: right, this is about, this one's about a snowman, a very very very very
603 tall snowman
604 Child: every one has to stand up for this one
605 T2: no you don't have to, you've got five little children, one
606 Response: (unprompted) two, three, four, five
607 T2: and they all dance round and see what happens
608 (singing) a snowman stood on the snowy ground, five little children
609 danced around
610 Response: (some children) humming
611 T2: one fell down with a bump, oh, oh
612 how many children dancing in the snow (singing stops)
613 how many (prompts)
614 Response: four
615 T2: four, the one's fallen over hasn't
616 (singing) snowman stood on the snowy ground, four little children
617 danced around
618 Response: (some children) humming
619 T2: one fell down with a bump, oh, oh
620 how many children dancing in the snow
621 Response: three
622 T2: I thought three, one, two, three
623 597 Sabia: one, two, three
624 T2: (singing) snowman stood on the snowy ground, three little children
625 danced around
626 Response: (some children) humming

627 T2: one fell down with a bump, oh, oh
628 how many children dancing in the
629 Response: (unprompted) snow
630 T2: there's a little girl left or a little boy, which do you think it is,
631 Child: I think two
632 T2: one little boy right
633 (singing) a snowman stood on the snowy ground
634 one little boy was dancing around
635 Sabia: dancing around
636 T2: he fell down with a bump oh, oh,
637 how many children dancing in the snow
638 Child: one
639 Child: none
640 T2: and then out comes the sun, what has happened to the snowman
641 Child: all fell down
642 T2: he'll melt
643 605 Sabia: mmm
644 T2: and will he still be there (prompts)
645 Child: not ..

TAPE ENDS 605

28-65	Activity 1	Children's Cloakroom (Domain 1) Functional Behaviour for 2 minutes
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1 T3: Hello Shamaila, hang your coat up please,
2 you put this one on,
3 you go and play

76-190	Activity 2	Dry Sand (Domain 7) Sustained Behaviour 7 minutes
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4 Shamaila: P (singing, sound of pouring water)
5 Sofees: P
6 Shamaila: P
7 P
8 the other one
9 P
10 Sofees: P
11 Shamaila: P
12 P
13 T5: E ...
14 P
15 P
16 Sofees: P
17 Shamaila: P

179-187 Activity 3 Corridor (Domain 28) Transient Behaviour

18	Biling T4:	stop running
19	Sabia:	P
20	Sabia:	P
21	Shamaila:	eh
22	Sabia:	P
23	Shamaila:	P
24		aah aaaaah ... eer eer (playing noises)
25	Sabia:	P (playing noises)
26	Shamaila:	P
27	Child ?	P
28	Child ?	P
29	Child ?	P
30	Shamaila:	P
31		aah, aah (playing noises)
32	Shamaila:	P
33		P
34		P
35		P
36		P (playing noises)
37		P
38		P
39	Shamaila:	P (singing)
40		P
41		P
42		P
43		P
44		P
45		P
46	Biling T4:	well you go and find somewhere else to play then
47	Shamaila:	P

190-266	Activity 4	Pretend Kitchen (Domain 18) Related Behaviour 2 minutes
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48 274 T5: What are you making?
 49 Sabila: ...
 50 T5: Living room? What are you making Shamaila?
 51 Shamaila: P
 52 T5: What are you making?
 53 Sabia: ...
 54 T5: Sitting room?
 55 Sabia: yea
 56 T5: What are you making Shamaila?
 57 Sabia: P
 58 Shamaila: mmm
 59 Sabia: she making, she making the coffee
 60 T3: how do you know? she didn't tell you, you did all the talking
 61 Sabia: P
 62 Shamaila: P
 63 Sabia: P
 64 Shamaila: P
 65 Sabia: P
 66 Shamaila: P
 67 Sabia: P
 68 Sabia: ...
 69 T5: sister?

266-280	Activity 5	Clay (Domain 13) Sustained Behaviour 2 minutes
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70 Child ? : ...
 71 Child ? : ...
 72 Child ? : yea
 73 Child ? : I've won, I've won, I've won
 74 Biling T4: already, but we've never played it, have we?
 75 T3: four
 76 Sabia: four

280-305	Activity 6	Junk Modelling (Domain 11) Sustained Behaviour 5 minutes
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77 T3: Sabia, don't get so much glue, just a little bit, you'll make it thick all
 78 over
 79 Shamaila: P
 80 Sabia: P
 81 T5: E ... one fell off, and then there was how many?
 82 Sabia: five
 83 T5: four
 84 Sabia: four

305-320	Activity 7	Train Set (Domain 22) Sustained Behaviour 4 minutes
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85 Sabia: P ... London ... coming our house
 86 T3: London
 87 Sabia: yea
 88 T3: somebody from London
 89 Sabia: our home
 90 T3: who's coming? Uncle?
 91 Shamaila: yea
 92 Sabia: comes from Saturday
 93 T3: Auntie?

94 Sabia: yea and auntie
 95 Yassair: Sumara's grandmam and she
 96 T3: she's coming as well?
 97 Yassair: yea
 98 T5: good girl
 99 T3: Sumera pick that up
 100 Shamaila go and wash your mouth, go and wash your mouth

322-382	Activity 8	Washbasins (Domain 15) Related Behaviour 2 minutes
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101 (sound of water)
 102 T3: Michael ... please, back over there, stop the noise, stop the noise, hang
 103 it up then, hang it up
 104 Shamaila: P
 105 T3: hang it up, Shamaila hang it up properly
 106 Child: E ...
 107 Shamaila: P (whispering)
 108 P
 109 P
 110 (classroom noise)
 111 P
 112 P
 113 P
 114 P
 115 Shamaila: P
 116 P

388-444	Activity 9	Drawing Table (Domain 24) Sustained Behaviour 9 minutes
	Activity 10	Dry Sand (Domain 7) Sustained Behaviour 4 minutes

117 ?: Gemma, are you going to sleep? Lift up your right hand and now you
 118 stretch
 119 Shamaila: (laughting) P
 120 Gemma: I'm not anybody's friend
 121 Amy: I'm playing with Clare
 122 Shamaila: (singing)
 123 Sabia:
 124 Shamaila: P

449-464	Activity 11	Children's Cloakroom (Domain 1) Related Behaviour
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125 BilingT4: (storytelling)
 126 she got the mangoes, put them in the place and then, gave the baby
 127 some mangoes
 128 Shamaila: P
 129 Shamaila: P
 130 P
 131 P
 132 P
 133 Sabia: P
 134 Shamaila: P
 135 Sabia: P
 136 Shamaila: P
 137 Sabia: P
 138 Shamaila: P
 139 T5: Linda ...

140 Shamaila: (laughter)
 141 P
 142 Biling T4: P Shamaila P ... Shamaila
 143 Shamaila: P
 144 Sabia: P
 145 Biling T4: P
 146 Sabia: P
 147 Biling T4: P
 148 Sabia: P
 149 Biling T4: P
 150 Shamaila: P
 151 P

**465-520 Activity 12 Washbasins (Domain 15)
Related Behaviour**

152 Sabia: P
 153 Shamaila: P
 154 Sabia: P
 155 Shamaila: P
 156 Sabia: P

**521-608 Activity 13 Water Play (Domain 14)
Sustained Behaviour 4 minutes**

157 Sabia: P
 158 Shamaila: P
 159 P
 160 P
 161 Sabia: P
 162 Shamaila: P (da da)
 163 Sabia: P
 164 Shamaila: P (pouring water)
 165 Sabia: P
 166 Shamaila: P
 167 P
 168 P
 169 Shamaila: (laughing)
 170 Sabia:
 171 Shamaila: P
 172 T1: tidy up now
 173 Sabia: P
 174 T3: tidy up please
 175 T5: tidy up
 176 Sabia: are you ...
 177 T3: Amy, are you wet?
 178 Amy: no
 179 T3: I know Shamaila is
 180 tidy up
 181 T1: Michael, put the big bricks away
 182 Shamaila: P (singing)
 183 Sabia: ☹ tidy up
 184 Shamaila: tidy up tidy up
 185 T2: what colour?
 186 Sabia: green
 187 T2: good girl, green, good girl Sabia
 188 Sofees, what colour? Blue
 189 Shamaila: tidy up
 190 Amy: in a minute
 191 T2: yellow, say yellow

TAPE ENDS 608

71-250

Activity 1

Outside Play

Sustained Behaviour 9 minutes

1 T3: Watch out, that one's gone the wrong way
 2 Sabia: Let me out
 3 T3: Stuart, no, Sabia's playing with that one
 4 Sabia: P
 5 T3: if you go over there, yea
 6 Sabia: P
 7 T3: yea, you carry on, right Sabia, over there ehere they are, Lyndsey take
 8 your wheel over there
 9 Sabia: P
 10 T3: ...
 11 Sabia: P
 12 T3: ... it went round in a circle, didn't it?
 13 Sabia: P
 14 T3: Rrr, oh, it nearly went under my legs then
 15 Sabia: P
 16 T3: move these out the way, out the way Atteeq, come on then
 17 Sabia: T ... teacher
 18 T3: come on then
 19 Sabia: you're missing a, you're missing a wheel
 20 Shamaila: what's this?
 21 T3: that's a wobbly one, insn't it? Out the way Stuart, no you've had your
 22 go, everyone has one go and then we'll have another go, let me have a
 23 go
 24 Sabia: P
 25 Shamaila: P
 26 T3: in a minute I'm not ready yet, right
 27 Shamaila: P
 28 T3: wait, wait, wait, wait I'm not ready yet
 29 Shamaila: no
 30 T3: Right, Stuart first, Lyndsey you take yours back, right Stuart, right
 31 Sofees
 32 T5: ...
 33 T3: oh
 34 Shamaila: (laughing)
 35 T3: going the wrong way
 36 Shamaila: p
 37 T3: It's ... Sabia Sabia right
 38 Shamaila: P
 39 Teacher
 40 T3: You nearly ran Shamaila over then, didn't you,
 41 Child: you know what Christopher's got our ...
 42 T3: right Lyndsey, Christopher, give that driving wheel back please,
 43 right Lyndsey, we're waiting for you, right, you ready, push
 44 Shamaila: P
 45 T1: Right, right, not yet
 46 Right, P
 47 Child?: Gemma, now your turn
 48 T3: oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, right Gemma, Alan out the way, yes you can have
 49 a go, oh Alan
 50 Child?: Miss
 51 T3: oh, Alan's got the wobbly wheel, right
 52 Shamaila: P
 53 T3: Sofees
 54 (laughter)
 55 T3: oh, another wobbly wheel
 56 Sabia: my turn

57 T3: Sabia, I don't think there's any more tyres, have you got any in there?
 58 No, this is them all now, Lyndsey, tell them all to ...
 59 Shamaila: P
 60 T1: oh, that's a very good one
 61 Shamaila: the teacher, that was, that one
 62 Atteeq: now my turn
 63 Shamaila: P (laughter)
 64 T3: Right, Gemma
 65 Shamaila: P
 66 T3: Right Alan, come on, wibbly, wobbly, now my turn, now my turn
 67
 68 Shamaila: P
 69 T3: Stuart you go and play over there, you ... you take that and play with
 70 teacher over there
 71 Stuart: ok I want to play here
 72 T3: over there Christopher, Christopher, I don't like nasty people in
 73 nursery, if you're going to be nasty and not let people play you're
 74 going
 75 Right, Sophie, right Sabia, give it a good push
 76 Shamaila: P
 77 T3: Stuart let Christopher play as well, you pass the to Christopher, roll it
 78 to Christopher and he'll roll it back, Lyndsey
 79 Sabia: P
 80 T1: where has yours gone?
 81 Child?: P
 82 T3: ... right Atteeq
 83 Sofees: P (laughter) fatty, you fatty
 84 T3: Sofees, stop being silly
 85 Shamaila: P
 86 (laughter)
 87 T3: where you're going to? I tell you what Alan, you go and pass yours to
 88 Paul
 89 Shamaila: P
 90 (laughter)
 91 P
 92 P
 93 (laughter)
 94 T1: Sabia, you and Shamaila go and play over there, Shamaila
 95 Child?: P
 96 Child?: P
 97 T1: Sabia, you little ...
 98 Shamaila: (singing)
 99 Lyndsey: Can I have your ball?
 100 Child?: No
 101 Lyndsey: please ... I can play, I can play
 102 Child?: P
 103 Linda, Linda, I've got a ball
 104 no
 105 no you
 106 can play here?
 107 no we was playing here first
 108 we can't
 109 Shamaila: (singing)
 110 no, no play
 111 Shamaila: (singing)
 112 Linda
 113 T1: I think I've upset ...
 114 Shamaila: (singing)
 115 T1: like to get their own way

116 204-250 (singing)
 117 P *gori*
 118 P
 119 (singing)
 120 P
 121 P
 122 (singing, different song)
 123 T?: (singing)

263-	Activity 2	Junk Modelling (Domain 11) Sustained Behaviour 5 minutes
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124 P
 125 270-328 (classroom noise)

328	Activity 3	Painting (Domain 9) Sustained Behaviour 5 minutes
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126 T1: That's ok, put some more water on there then, what colour do you
 127 need?
 128 What have you been making with the glue? What have you been
 129 making? Glue, this is glue, glue, ok, I think you've got some on your
 130 jumper as well, shall we look, shall I do this as well, you've dropped it
 131 on your jumper, ok, so it'll be nice and clean
 132 T3: Right in the bottom like that, nearly, you put them in, I will today

Activity 6	Decorating the Christmas Tree (Domain 22/23) Sustained Behaviour 3 minutes
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133 Shamaila: Is the Christmas Father going to come?
 134 T3: Next week
 135 Shamaila: Next week, next week
 136 ☞ P
 137 P
 138 T3: Are you helping Kamran?
 139 Shamaila: P
 140 P
 141 P

Activity 7	Pretend Kitchen (Domain 18) Sustained Behaviour 4 minutes
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142 T1: What are you eating? *Janga*?
 143 P
 144 orange
 145 Shamaila: P
 146 P
 147 (singing)
 148 P
 149 P

421-432	Activity 8	Washbasins (Domain 15) Related Behaviour for 3 minutes
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150 Shamaila: P (sound of playing in water)

438-517	Activity 10	Singing around the Christmas Tree (Domain 22/23) Sustained Behaviour for 30 minutes
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151 445 Oh Little Town of Bethlehem

152 Shamaila: P
153 P
154 (singing)
155 Shamaila: P
156 P
157 P
158 P
159 P
160 P
161 478 Shamaila: (counting) P
162 (singing) P
163 T1: yes, I'm coming back
164 500 (tape recording Silent Night)
165 517 Shamaila: P

TAPE ENDS 550

TRANSCRIPT 9	SHAZAD	DAY 1
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20-66	Activity 1	Musical Instruments (Domain 23) Sustained Behaviour 2 minutes
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1	20		(sound of musical instruments)
2		Shazad:	P
3		Rabila:	P
4		T4:	P
5		T3:	Alan ...
6	39	Shazad:	P
7		Rabila:	P
8	40-64		(sound of musical instruments)
9		Child:	Teacher, teacher, he kicked me
10		T3:	Alan, Colin
11	64	Shazad:	P
12		Rabila:	P
13			(sound of musical instruments)

69-143	Activity 2	Drawing (Domain 24) Sustained Behaviour 5 mins
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14	69	Rabila:	P
15		T1:	that's a beautiful picture, lovely colours
16		T3:	do you want me to put it up?
17		Rabila:	P
18	83	Shazad:	P
19		Rabila:	P
20	94	Shazad:	P
21	97	Shazad:	P
22		Rabila:	P
23	103	Rabila:	(singing)
24	105-129		(classroom noise)
25	130	T3:	Shazad you need your coat
26		Shazad:	thank you
27	135	Neville:	where's my coat ?
28		Christopher:	I've got mine on
29		T3:	put your arms in
30		Neville:	it's my batman
31		Christopher:	is that your batman coat?
32		Neville:	no, no
33	140		(sounds of children playing)
34		Neville:	I'm batman, I'm batman, I'm batman

148-380	Activity 4	Outside Play Area (Domain 8) Sustained Behaviour 12 minutes
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35		T3:	Neville, that's inside out, Neville, that's inside out isn't it?
36		T3:	(to another child) no you start from over there, that green one, er the
37			orange, green on the brain I think
38	149	T3:	here you are Shazad, (aside) she's off
39	152	T3:	yes Christopher, careful Geoffrey
40	164	Shazad:	P
41		T3:	bring back ... now ...stop it
42		Child:	I'm going to get you
43		Child:	let go
44		T3:	go carefully
45		Sumera:	P
46		T3:	what's up
47		Sumera:	(playing noises)
48		Shazad:	P
49	181	Shazad:	P

50		187		T3:	over there, over there
51				Shazad:	(laughter)
52	191			T3:	I don't think you'll get through, have you been through it already
53				Yassair:	yea
54				Gary:	I've got it, come on
55				Shazad:	P
56	198			T3:	Gary you don't swing like that, if you fall off there'll be nobody there
57					to catch you

Activity 8	Children's Cloakroom (Domain 1) Transient Behaviour
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58				Yassair:	come on
59				Shazad:	P
60				Sumera:	P ☺ can I come, can I come
61	204			Shazad:	P
62				Christopher:	(in the background) come on my go
63	212				(children playing in the background)
64	215			Shazad:	(laughing to self)
65				Sumera:	P
66				Shazad &	(laughing)
67				Sumera:	
68				T3:	get down, get down a minute while Michael goes over, no stand up
69					there, stand up here, now you can go, Naomi now you're pushing in,
70					go over there and start with the wheels, over there start with the wheels
71				Child:	I'm not seeing you
72				Shazad:	go to back
73				Child:	you're not
74				T3:	when you've finished you can have some
75				Shazad:	P
76	238			T3:	right Christopher, go back the other way, we're not having any more
77					goes, right you can go through and I'll get you there
78	249			Shazad:	P
79				Sumera:	P
80				Shazad:	mind me
81				T3:	come on go then, Yassair behave, boys what did I tell you, go back the
82					other way, we're not having any more wolves, right, you can go
83					through there with that, you go through and I'll wait at the other end,
84					no more wolves, otherwise ...
85	264-269			Shazad:	P
86				Sumera:	P
87				T3:	no Christopher you're being very silly and Alan you're being silly as
88					well, you're in now Geoffrey, you're in, Michael go on in, Michael
89					(+ surname) get your coat, oh
90					Geoffrey, what happened
91				Sumera:	P
92				Shazad:	P
93	276				(footsteps running)
94				Shazad:	you're gonna run back
95				T3:	Alan you're in the wrong wheel
96	281			Shazad:	P
97				Sumera:	P
98	290-298				(children playing in the background)
99				Yassair:	P

334-560	Activity 11	Painting (Domain 9) Sustained Behaviour for 13 minutes
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100		Shazad:	P		
101		T2:			where did you get that from, where did you get this, is this your pen,
102					who are you drawing? Colour and draw, go on then, you've got a
103					lovely ...
104					look, who's there? that's when it's wet, can you see that bit
105		Girls:			(laughter)
106		Shazad:			can we go play
107		Girl:			let's go
108		Girl:			are you taking that home for your mam
109	320	Rabila:			P
110		Shazad:			P
111	324	Rabila:			you go you go park
112					(laughter)
113		Shazad:			no not go park
114	325				☹ park
115					(laughter)
116		Rabila:			P ☹ daddy
117	333	Rabila:			P
118		Shazad:			P
119		Rabila:			P
120		Shazad:			P
121	346	T3:			(in background to another child) where did you get that from
122	350	Shazad:			P
123	354	Shazad:			P
124		Yassair:			P
125	359	Shazad:			(laughing)
126		Yassair:			that's when it's wet
127		Shazad:			that's it
128		Shazad:			I've finish
129		Rabila:			(echoes) I've finish
130		Ammara:			that's a mucky one
131		Shazad:			no it's not

	Activity 12	Washbasins (Domain15) Related Behaviour
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132		T1:	(to the girls) you have to walk all the way round		
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TAPE ENDS 560

Activity 1	Children's Cloakroom (Domain 1) Sustained Behaviour for 7 minutes
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1	41	T5:	will you wear, you are pretty aren't you
2		Girl:	(crying)
3		Shazad:	P
4		Girl:	P
5		Shazad:	P
6			☹ it's alright
7		Girl:	teacher ... in there
8	65- 92		(a lot of classroom noise, a number of girls giggling and arguing in the home corner)
9			
10	93	Shazad:	P
11	96	Girl:	///
12	100	Shazad:	///
13		Biling T7:	hey you'll all fall off, will you try and tidy up, look don't sit up there,
14			yeh don't, because you'll really hurt somebody, come to me, is
15			anybody coming to draw
16		Shazad:	P
17	106		(humming)
18		Girl :	P
19		Biling T7:	P
20		Girl:	P
21	111	Girl:	P
22	113	Shazad:	yaaa (calling out, as if hurt)
23	114	Laurie:	Shazie are you alright tell me
24	115	Shazad:	(crying)
25		Laurie:	Shazie
26	118-		(classroom noise)
27	123	Girl:	has any one seen them
28	129	Shazad:	P
29			your mum's there
30			there's that monster, da-da-da-da
31		SP	
32		Shazad:	P
33			P
34	136	Shazad:	P
35		Biling T7:	☹no you can't go out, it's raining
36			raining
37		Biling T7:	P
38		Child:	playing outside
39		Biling T7:	not playing outside
40			☹ P
41	143	Child:	P
42		T3:	I'm waiting for the wedding, ... that's why the paper's there
43	147-152		(adults speaking Panjabi in the background)
44	154-158		(adults talking in the distance)
45	159	Shazad:	(making noises to self)
46	160	Biling T7:	where's your car
47		Shazad:	where's your car
48		Child:	///
49	161	Shazad:	bye bye
50	162-		(classroom noise)
51	163	Child:	P
52		Shazad:	P
53	166	Shazad:	(noises to herself) P
54	169	Child:	get out ... that's mine
55	172	Shazad:	P
56	176	Shazad:	(noises to self)
57	178	Shazad:	(noises to self) b b ay ahh

58	185-200		(classroom noise)
59		Shazad:	beep beep beep
60			(continues singing) beep beep
61		Child:	P
62		Shazad:	P
63	195	Shazad:	P (talking to self)
64	200	Shazad:	hellooo
65	204	Shazad:	P
66	209		(laughing)
67		Biling T7:	Shazie look
68			(sound of drum banging)
69	215	Shazad:	(laughing)
70	218	Biling T7:	did you have ... did you
71		Child:	P

220-	Activity 2	Clay Modelling (Domain 13) Transient Behaviour
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72	221	Shazad:	P
73		Biling T7:	yea you come and sit down close to us
74			(aside to another child) when one goes away then you can come and
75			play
76	226	Shazad:	what is that
77		Child:	no
78		Biling T7:	don't
79	230	Shazad:	P
80		Child:	P
81	237	Shazad:	P
82		Child:	eh
83		Shazad:	P
84		Child:	P
85		Shazad:	P
86		T5:	(in background to Sabia) they have little tiny tape recorders inside
87	242-251		(sustained conversation in Panjabi)
88	257	Shazad:	P
89	259		(laughing)
90	264	T:	(in background) Michael over here

266-	Activity 3	Playing with Building Blocks in Construction Area (Domain 21) Sustained Behaviour for 21 minutes
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91			(sounds of banging and playing with blocks)
92		Rabila:	P
93		Shazad:	P
94	268	Rabila:	(singing to self)
95	277	Kamran:	I'm here
96	279	Shazad:	P
97	283	Rabila:	(humming to self)
98	288	Rabila:	P
99	291		(sound of water filling)
100	296	Shazad:	(laughing)
101	302	Shazad:	P
102	305	Shazad:	P
103		Mutheza:	Shazad (calling)
104		T1:	can you find out what happened
105	312		(sound of crying in the background)
106		Mutheza:	P
107		Shazad:	P
108	318	Shazad:	P
109			(sound of children singing in the background)
110	325	Shazad:	P

111	332	Shazad:	yea
112		Child:	that's not fair
113	339	Shazad:	P
114	344		(classroom noise)
115		T2:	Linda
116	349	Shazad:	P (making sounds to herself)
117	360	Shazad:	P
118	377		(teacher's voice in distant background)
119	383	Shazad &	(making sounds together)
120		Rabila:	
121	386	Shazad:	yea tidy up see
122		Rabila:	P
123		Shazad:	P
124			☞ tidy up
125	392	Shazad:	P
126	395	Shazad:	P (talking to self)
127	398		(laughing)
128	400	Rabila:	P
129	403	Shazad:	P
130	408	Shazad:	P
131			(sound of musical instruments close by)
132	412	Rabila:	bye bye
133	415	Shazad:	that's yours
134	416-422		(sound of glockenspiel in distance)
135	424		(laughter)
136	427	Shazad:	P
137	430-		(classroom noise)
138	442	Shazad:	(brief noise)
139	446	Mutheza:	no
140	448	Mutheza:	no
141			☞ P
142	451	Shazad:	(noises to self)
143		Laurie:	I don't know, it's tidy up time
144	456	T2:	Shazia on the carpet please
145		Laurie:	on the carpet
146		T2:	come on Bianca
147		Shazad:	where's toilet

Activity 7	Christmas Tree (Domain 22/23)
Functional Behaviour	

148	469	T1:	carpet time
149	471	Shazad:	Rabila back
150		T2:	come on Shazad on the carpet please
151		Shazad:	...
152		T2:	on the carpet please
153	474	Shazad:	P
154	476	Shazad:	P
155		T2:	(in the distance) get off the chair please, Melanie
156		Loud voice:	teacher, teacher teacher
157	485	T1:	up you go (moves her away) Shazad stand up please, sit down there
158			please
159		Shazad:	P
160		T1:	you won't be able to see the story

490-589	Activity 8	Story time (Domain 22 & 23)
Sustained Behaviour 22 minutes		

161		T2:	yesterday when it was raining very hard our roof was leaking and all
162			the rain was coming through and
163		Child:	can't we read

164 T2: we were waiting for the workmen to come
 165 Child: do you see the leak over there
 166 T2: I do
 167 Boy: can I see
 168 T2: there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating (prompts response)
 169 Boy: milk
 170 T2: when you go home have a look on your roof I'll have a look on mine
 171 Child: I'm gonna look on mine
 172 T2: our roof leaks
 173 Child: ...
 174 T2: drip drip drip go and get the bucket that's what we had to do
 175 yesterday, Linda had to go and get the bucket to put all the bits of
 176 water in
 177 my daddy says there's a hole in
 178 Child: ...
 179 T2: Michael
 180 T3: Michael
 181 T2: my daddy says there's a hole on our roof I know why there's a hole
 182 Child: why there ...
 183 T2: there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating (Prompts response)
 184 Response: (Other children) cake
 185 T2: he can do what he likes, there's a hippopotamus on our roof having a
 186 (prompts)
 187 (no response from Shazad)
 188 T2: drip drip drip
 189 T2: our hippopotamus doesn't like baths he's having a shower I know
 190 because I heard him, there's a hippopotamus on our roof having a
 191 (prompts)
 192 Response: shower
 193 T2: a great big one
 194 Sabia: P
 195 T2: listen to this it says mummy's on a diet she eats lettuce tomato and
 196 cheese, my big brother eats peanut butter sandwiches, I eat honey
 197 sandwiches, and the hippopotamus on our cake, on our roof eats cake
 198 all the time
 199 Several (inaudible)
 200 children:
 201 502 T2: do you know what mummy said, mummy said, mummy asked about
 202 the cake she said is it a birthday cake, no, is it a chocolate cake, no, is
 203 it a special cake, yes there's a hippopotamus on our roof eating a
 204 special (prompts)
 205 Shazad: ///
 206 506 T2: yesterday I fell over and cut my knee and it hurt and there was lots of
 207 blood and at the hospital the doctor put three stitches in my knee and I
 208 cried, there she is (showing picture in book) guess what happened
 209 (prompts)
 210 Response: (none)
 211 T2: last night the hippopotamus told me something, he's got a sore knee
 212 too, there's a hippopotamus on our roof with a bandage on his knee,
 213 can you see, he's got a poorly knee, same leg, can you see it
 214 509 Shazad: P
 215 T2: there's a hippopotamus on our roof watching television, he's very big
 216 and he can do what he likes, mummy won't let me watch television,
 217 after dinner and a story I have to go to bed, my hippopotamus watches I
 218 know he does, there's a hippopotamus on our roof watching (prompts)
 219 Response: (several children) television
 220 Shazad: ///
 221 T2: today I was very naughty I drew on daddy's best book and daddy gave
 222 me a smack, down here no one is my friend my hippopotamus lives on
 223 the roof he's my friend I know
 224 515 Shazad: (whispering to herself)

225 T2: he isn't cross and no one smacks him, he's too big, he can draw
 226 anything, there's a hippopotamus on our roof drawing with his crayons
 227 (turns the page) he wasn't there last night I know why, he told me, he
 228 went to work, my hippopotamus works part time at the zoo, zoo
 229 visitors look at the animals and at the zoo he watches people when he's
 230 not working my hippopotamus sits on the roof eating (prompts)
 231 Response: ///

232 T2: oh there's a hippopotamus on our roof, I've got a bike
 233 Response: (several children) I have
 234 T2: mommy won't let me ride on the road, there's there are cars on the
 235 road there are no cars on the roof, he can ride any where I know he
 236 can, there's a hippopotamus on our roof riding a (prompts)
 237 Response: (several children) bike

238 524 (Aside) this is what we're waiting for, sit down Sabia you're too tall,
 239 sit down please on your
 240 524 Shazad: (singing to herself)
 241 T2: the men fixed the roof today, bang bang bang no more drip, they
 242 didn't see my hippopotamus, he climbed down the ladder while the
 243 men had lunch, he'll be back tonight and
 244 Child: ...
 245 Children: cake
 246 Sabia: cake
 247 Sabia: ML P ☞ chapatty
 248 T2: I'll have a look on my roof to see if he's there
 249 Child: I have
 250 T2: have a look on yours see if he's there, well I ... when you go out of
 251 nursery when you go down the path have a look and see if he's up on
 252 our roof, ours is really leaking aren't they, it's leaking in two places
 253 isn't it

254 533 T3: well before we say I want, I want Michael and Geoffrey to go back
 255 over to the wet sand and tidy it, there's sand all over the floor
 256 Several ...
 257 Children:
 258 T3: go on Michael, I know it's you two because there's sand all over you
 259 Child: I'm going
 260 T3: Tidy it properly
 261 538 (singing in the background words inaudible)
 262 542 T2: some of you know when Santa Got Stuck up the Chimney
 263 Child: I know that
 264 Singing: When Santa got stuck up the chimney he began to shout
 265 You girls and boys won't get any toys if you don't pull me out
 266 my beard is stuck there's ... my nose is tickley too
 267 when Santa got stuck uo the chimney achoo achoo achoo, one more
 268 time shall we
 269 Singing: When Santa got stuck up the chimney he began to shout
 270 You girls and boys won't get any toys if you don't pull me out
 271 my beard is stuck there's ... my nose is tickley too
 272 when Santa got stuck uo the chimney achoo achoo achoo
 273 one more time and then no more, you know some of this so you'll be
 274 555 able to join in because you know what the little gingerbread man said,
 275 he said, he says run run as fast as you can you can't catch me I'm the
 276 (prompts)
 277 Children: gingerbread man
 278 T2: we ate them all up didn't we, did you miss it Christopher were you
 279 poorly
 280 Children: (general noise)
 281 557 Shazad: P
 282 557-573 (story continues but inaudible)
 283 572 Shazad: P
 284 T2 and run run as fast as you can, you can't catch me I'm the (prompts)
 285 Children:

286 Children: gingerbread man
288 T2: then he says no one will have me for tea and he runs, (aside) Sabia
289 come back, right back, right back come on Sabia stand up
290 T2: no said the gingerbread man I will not stop for you, the old man
291 couldn't get me, and the children can't get me and you can't get me
292 (prompts) run run as fast as you can you can' t catch me I'm the
293 gingerbread man
294 T2: and cow see the gingerbread man and he says mooo
295 Response: moo
296 587 Shazad: /// (story continues out of hearing)

TAPE ENDS 590

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